‘Finding’ the Irish in British Columbia Using the 1881 Census of Canada

by

Michael Jervis
B.A., Okanagan University College, 2004

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Until the mid 1970s, the image of the Irish Diaspora in Canada in the nineteenth century was that of a dichotomous group consisting of Irish Protestants, who worked their way up the economic ladder into mainstream society, and Irish Catholics, who never found their way out of poverty. However, with the emergence of quantitative analysis, this perception of the Irish came to be regarded as simplistic and anachronistic. New research found that the Irish in nineteenth century Canada were more diverse and complex than previously thought. In order to unravel this diversity and complexity, comprehensive analysis needed to be done at a regional level.

In the late nineteenth century prior to the coming of the railway, British Columbia was a 'distinct society:' a geographically isolated province anchored not by agriculture but rather resource extraction industries that attracted a largely adult male settler population. As such it provided a unique opportunity in which to study the Irish. My quantitative analysis of the Irish in British Columbia through the Canadian Census of 1881 suggests that within this 'distinct' settler society, Irish Catholics were 'ghettoized' in the workplace, in large part due to their religious affiliation.

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Dedication

To my Mother

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"*The best remembered, or misremembered, group of immigrants came from Ireland."*[1]

My interest in immigration history, and more specifically, the history of the Irish in Canada, stemmed from my upbringing by a staunch Irish Catholic mother who herself arrived in Canada from Dublin in 1963 to marry my Canadian father and start a family. As a child, I had no perspective on my home environment: a typical childhood in many respects but focused around the Catholic Church and its rituals of attending Mass, saying the Rosary, confession and prayer. However, as I grew older and my world expanded, I soon realized that my home life was not the same as that of my friends. I became fascinated by how the culture my mother grew up in was, in many ways, unlike Canadian culture and had moulded her into a person whose perspective was markedly different than that of other Canadians. Yet while my mother remained 'Irish' in her perspective and many of her customs, she embraced her husband's country and learned to adapt to Canada's culture and traditions. From my own personal experience of the melding of cultures within my home, a desire developed to understand how the societies of host countries themselves were moulded and altered by the impact of immigrants.

For the Irish, emigration has been a fact of life for centuries. According to scholar Kerby Miller, from the early 1600s to the early 1900s over seven million Irish left their

[1] Robert Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 2006), 198.

homeland for foreign shores.[2] In the latter half of the nineteenth century alone, emigration reduced Ireland's population from over eight million to about four and one half million.[3] Driven initially by rapid industrialization that concentrated wealth in the hands of the few and left the majority behind in poverty and which in turn "exacerbated sectarian and social as well as regional divisions,"[4] many Irish were left with two choices: "immigration overseas or immiseration at home."[5] By the late 1840s, this inexorable stream had grown to a flood as an estimated one million emigrants alone left Ireland for North America to escape the horrific conditions of the Great Famine.[6]

During the eighteenth century, Irish migration to British North America had been minimal. However, from the end of the Napoleonic wars until the 1840s, approximately five hundred thousand Irish arrived in British North America and, with the onset of the Potato Famine, over half this number arrived on North American shores between 1846 and 1850 alone.[7] The Famine migrations were to be the peak of nineteenth century Irish migration to British North America.

Andy Bielenberg, an Irish social and economic historian, points out that "migrancy…is increasingly seen as *process*, a state of being in itself, and not as a temporary transitional phase before the subject is absorbed into society."[8] He argues that the host societies are themselves transformed by the impact of immigrants and

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[2] Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (NewYork: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3.
[3] Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration* (Minneapolis: University of Meany Publishers, 1985), 77.
[4] Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 41.
[5] Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 26.
[6] Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962), 206.
[7] Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990), 13-14, 26.
[8] Andy Bielenberg, "Introduction" in *The Irish Diaspora*, eds. Andy Bielendberg (London: Pearson, 2000), par.4 <http://migration.ucc.ie/irisdiasporaintro.htm> (April, 2009).

immigration is no longer regarded "a one-way path in which the immigrant becomes a member of an unchanged host society…."[9] If this is the case, then the historical development of nineteenth-century Canada cannot be properly understood without the study of the Irish diaspora in Canada. By the nineteenth century, the main influx of immigration was arriving from the British Isles and within this migration stream the Irish were the prominent group. Scholars Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth succinctly state: "in the nineteenth century the Irish comprised the largest immigrant group."[10] As well, the Irish were the second largest ethnic group in Canada next to the French.[11]

Despite these facts, for most of the twentieth century, knowledge of the Irish in Canada has been shrouded in myth. Take for example the comments made about the nineteenth century Irish by sociologist John Porter in his book, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*. First published in 1965, *The Vertical Mosaic* was a landmark sociological study of Canada that had a far ranging impact. Rick Helmes-Hayes, writing in 2002, states that "to date, Porter has had more influence on English-language Canadian sociology than any other sociologist and *The Vertical Mosaic* more influence than any other book."[12] He goes on to say that "*The Vertical Mosaic* served as an "Original Source" for a decade's worth of important research in several specialty areas of Canadian Sociology-class, mobility, power, ethnicity, regionalism, gender, education and so on."[13] Relying heavily on the work done by H.C. Pentland, a scholar we will look at shortly, Porter portrayed the nineteenth century Irish in

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[9] Bielenberg, par.4.
[10] Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 4.
[11] Donald Akenson, *Being Had: Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America* (Toronto: P.D.Meany Publishers, 1985), 77. My own statistical analysis of the 1881 Canadian Census confirms this: the Irish were listed as the second largest ethnic group (22.3%) next to the French (28.9%).
[12] Rick Helme-Hayes, "John Porter: Canada's Most Famous Sociologist and His Links to American Sociology," *The American Sociologist* 33, no.1 (Mar. 2002): 96-97.
[13] Helme-Hayes, 97.

dichotomous terms. On one hand there were the Protestant Irish immigrants who arrived in Canada and occupied the lower level occupations (e.g. general labour work) only until they became acclimatized and then subsequently purchased land and moved up the economic ladder. On the other hand, the Catholic Irish immigrants initially followed the same pattern as the Protestant Irish but ultimately showed no interest in acquiring land, becoming instead an "urban proletariat."[14] Furthermore, apparently this Irish Catholic 'urban proletariat' accepted their inferior position, a type of "permanent caste-like status."[15] Other ethnic groups worked their way up the economic and social ladder, the Irish Catholics did not. Ultimately, it was this 'caste-like status' that perpetuated the stereotypes for which the Irish Catholics are too well known.[16] This historical synopsis was apparently the culmination of affairs for the largest immigrant group and the second largest ethnic group in Canada in the nineteenth century! However by the 1980s, a new generation of Irish Diaspora research discovered this interpretation of the Irish to be simplistic and anachronistic.

As scholar Donald Akenson points out, until the 1970s, "a glacial mass blanketed"[17] the field of Irish immigration in Canada. The nineteenth century Irish as a group had been stereotyped largely as a result of the Famine migrants of the 1840s: refugees, penniless and diseased, running from the deplorable state of affairs in Ireland. Further, this stereotype defined the Irish immigrants in Canada as largely tragic and "passive flotsam on history's woeful tide."[18] However, as a result of "a major shift in the

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[14] John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 63.
[15] Porter, 64.
[16] Porter, 63.
[17] Donald Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), xv.
[18] Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, xv.

terms of debate and the nature of the enquiry"[19] in diaspora studies, the glacial mass covering the Irish diaspora has rapidly melted revealing a more accurate and complex picture.

Approaches to the study of Irish Diaspora have evolved considerably over the years. Historical inquiry has remained essential but the field has now opened its doors to the social sciences, legal, literary, and behavioral studies, feminist perspectives, structural and post-structural perspectives as well as methodologies such as comparative analysis and discourse analysis.[20] For example, in *Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, Bruce Elliot studied 775 Protestant families that migrated from the county of Tipperary in the south of Ireland to various settlements in Canada between 1815 and 1855. Using genealogy as a methodological tool, Elliot reconstructed the migration patterns and behaviors of these families through exhaustive and rigorous analysis.[21] Another methodological tool that has been crucial to a more comprehensive understanding of the Irish in Canada during the nineteenth century has been quantitative analysis.

Quantitative analysis is a methodology that has made a significant impact on the field of history starting in the 1960s. During this era, the growth of social history that moved away from the individual to focus on the masses coincided with the emergence of computer processing. This allowed historians to access and analyze records (e.g. censuses, tax lists and military records) previously too large to analyze by human effort alone.[22] However, quantitative analysis has been part of history writing for much longer.

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[19] Bielenberg, par.5.
[20] Bielenberg, par.5.
[21] See Bruce S. Elliot, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach,* 2nd ed. (Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2004) 80-81.
[22] Robert Harrison, "The 'new social history' in America" in *Making History: An Introduction to the History and Practices of a Discipline*, eds. Peter Lambert and Phillip Schofield (New York: Routledge, 2004),114; John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), 258.

Historians Anna Green and Kathleen Troup argue that "almost all historical writing involves quantification…whether implicit or explicit."[23] Nevertheless, as John Tosh argues, historians were apt to make quantitative statements about something but would have based their evidence on "the observation of a thoughtful contemporary"[24] or a few specific examples that would be regarded as indicative of the overall pattern. For example, he points out that the estimates of Africans shipped to the New World between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries were "little more than guesswork of nineteenth century writers, many of them prominent in the campaign to abolish the slave trade."[25] With the emergence of quantitative analysis, "the findings of qualitative historians… are being increasingly modified by the quantitative analysis of data systematically assembled to reflect an entire society."[26] This has most certainly been the case in the study of the Irish in Canada during the nineteenth century where quantitative history has literally transformed the historiography.

The pejorative image of the Irish diaspora in Canada was perpetuated in part by the work of two scholars: H.C. Pentland (whom we mentioned earlier) and Kenneth Duncan. Pentland's article, "The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada" is an abbreviated version of his major work, *Labour and Capital in Canada: 1650-1860,* a study on the emergence of capitalism in Canada. He argues that Canada did not have what could be called a labour market until about the 1850s when cities and towns, industry, transport systems (e.g. the railway) and a home market emerged.[27]

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[23] Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 141.
[24] Tosh, 259.
[25] Tosh, 258-259.
[26] Tosh, 260.
[27] H.C. Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 25, no.4 (Nov. 1959): 460.

Pentland argues that the French-Canadians avoided wage employment, choosing to remain as agricultural workers tied to the land. Instead, it was the Irish that supplied the labour base. The early Irish immigrants, largely Protestant from the North of Ireland, were hardy, eager to work and thrifty, willing and capable of skilled labour but also conducive to unskilled work; in short, whatever would make them money. However, many of these Irish treated waged labour as only a means to an end, saving enough to buy land and settle in rural areas as farmers.[28] By the 1830s, the Irish were starting to arrive in increasing numbers from the west and south of Ireland and supplied what Pentland called "the main constituent of the labour market."[29] Unlike the earlier Irish, the Scots and English, the Irish peasant never aspired to become a farmer. Instead the Irish- Catholic worker was "indolent for himself, ignorant, superstitious, fervent belligerent…but his distinctive characteristic… was his preference for wage employment."[30]

Appearing six years later, Kenneth Duncan's article, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure in Canada West," assesses the social and economic conditions of Ontario at the time of the Famine and evaluates "the influence of Irish peasant values and social structure upon the choices that were finally made"[31] by the Famine Irish upon their arrival in the area. He argues that at the time of the Famine, the largely rural structure of Canada, the dearth of agricultural workers and the background of the Irish made it inevitable that they would seek out rural employment. However this was not to be the case as "the immigrants had unmistakably shown a strong tendency to become urban."[32]

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[28] Pentland, 460.
[29] Pentland, 460.
[30] Pentland, 460.
[31] Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Immigration and the Social Structure in Canada West," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 2 (1965): 19.
[32] Duncan, 22.

As one of the reasons cited for this urban proclivity, Duncan argues that the Catholic Irish were not skilled enough to work in the farming sector.[33] Instead these Irish chose to situate themselves in the city in lower class concentrations forcing out other inhabitants by their "violence and riot, disease, crime, drunkenness, and prostitution."[34]

Both Pentland and Duncan viewed the Catholic Irish immigrants, in particular those arriving during the Irish Potato Famine of the 1840s, as a monolithic mass that were either not interested in or were incapable of becoming farmers. Instead, the Catholic Irish apparently chose to remain in urban settings and work in the unskilled labour sector, remaining largely impoverished.[35] As well, both authors held the Catholic Irish in low regard. For example, Duncan states, "the arrival of the famine immigrants had the following consequences for Canada West: … the introduction of a tradition of violence to gain economic, religious and political ends; and greatly increased crime."[36] Much of Pentland's and Duncan's evidence was based on anecdotal sources, drawing uncritically from contemporary observations that at times were tendentious. However, these biased and inaccurate perceptions of the nineteenth century Irish were about to change.

By the mid-seventies, quantitative analysis emerged as a prominent and useful methodology for social historians including those interested in the Irish in Canada. As a result, a wholly different picture emerged that largely discarded the research of historians like Pentland and Duncan as, at best, one-dimensional and, at worst, historically inaccurate. What follows is a historiographical analysis of the research done on the Irish diaspora in Canada during the nineteenth century using quantitative analysis. This

[33] Duncan, 25.
[34] Duncan, 24
[35] Pentland, 460; Duncan, 22.
[36] Duncan, 33.

analysis does not cover the entire historiography but rather focuses on the studies that are, in my opinion, significant. For organizational purposes, I have chosen to approach this survey from a chronological perspective, as the field is fairly new and as of yet, not overly expansive. Ultimately, what has been discovered is that the Irish in Canada during the nineteenth century were a widely diverse immigrant group, established in both rural and urban settings, represented across the employment spectrum, and ultimately as successful as any other ethnic group in Canada. Arguably, it was not until the application of quantitative analysis as a methodology that historians really "found" the Irish in nineteenth century Canada.

The first quantitative analysis of the Irish appeared in the book *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century Town,* written by Michael Katz, and published in 1975. This book was a culmination of six years of collaborative research done by the Canadian Social History Project. Katz's book is a detailed social study of Hamilton during the 1850s that analyzes the social and family patterns that emerged in the city as it went through rapid industrial growth.[37] Katz, using the 1851 Canadian census supplemented with assessment rolls, city directories and membership information from different voluntary organizations, unveiled a rigid social class structure of inequality counterbalanced by a highly fluid work force.[38] In terms of the Irish, Katz found a distinct relationship between ethnicity and occupation and wealth. More specifically, Katz's analysis shows that the Irish Catholics occupied the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. For example, they were overrepresented in the servant sector and underrepresented in the trades sector but showed an increasing presence in

[37] Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Town* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 7.
[38] Katz, 62, 310.

petty proprietorship.[39] As Katz states, "as a whole, the Irish Catholics were concentrated in low-paying occupations…."[40] Katz also found that the Irish as an ethnic group (both Catholics and Protestants) "were by far the most likely to remain poor"[41] in comparison to other ethno-religious groups. In fact Katz found that between 1851 and 1861, the Irish Catholic group's economic position actually worsened.[42] He suggests that this can be explained, in part, by the fact that "when the English or Scottish moved into a trade, the Irish Catholics moved, or more likely *were* moved, out."[43] Fundamentally, Katz sees the problem as "the peculiar combination of being Irish and Catholic, rather than one and not the other."[44] In essence, Katz's research drew the same conclusions as both Pentland and Duncan; however, Katz came to his conclusions through systematic research.

In 1980, Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth published a paper in 1980 called "Better Questions through a Better Source, the Canadian Census" that illustrated the advantages of the Canadian census when used as a source for the study of the Irish in nineteenth century Canada. The authors point out that, unlike the British censuses, the Canadian censuses, starting in 1851, included a question on religion and, in 1871, a question on ethnicity and birthplace.[45] For that reason, researchers would not only be able to locate the immigrant Irish but Canadian born Irish as well. Using this new information, the authors found that the Irish now emerged as a much larger group than previously thought, constituting thirty-four percent of the total population in Ontario in 1871.[46]

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[39] Katz, 27, 65-66.
[40] Katz, 66.
[41] Katz, 163.
[42] Katz, 64.
[43] Katz, 65.
[44] Katz, 66.
[45] William J. Smyth and Cecil J. Houston, "Better Questions Through a Better Source, the Canadian Census," *Irish Geography* 13 (1980): 3.
[46] Smyth and Houston, "Better Questions," 4.

Using these data on ethnicity, place of birth and religious affiliation, Smyth and Houston found that the Irish Protestants outnumbered the Irish Catholics two to one and were much more likely than Irish Catholics to occupy the higher occupational niches.[47] This numerical and occupational advantage was linked to the earlier arrival of the Protestants before the Potato Famine and their access to land, an opportunity not afforded the Famine Irish. In contrast, the Catholic Irish were almost twice as likely as Protestants to live in urban environments. Houston and Smyth argue that their research reflects the fact that the Irish Catholics did not arrive in large numbers until the Famine when most of the arable farm land had been claimed and as such kept them from making any inroads into the rural community.[48] Like Katz's findings in Hamilton, Smyth and Houston's analysis found a significant difference between Protestant and Irish Catholic when it came to social mobility: the Protestants were consistently found in higher occupational sectors than the Catholics. Put another way, whereas the Irish Catholics remained poor, the Irish Protestants did not. However, they suggest that the situation concerning the Irish Catholics' proclivity for urban environments could be largely one of timing and the subsequent economic opportunities available.

In the same year as the Smyth and Houston paper, A.Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein published a paper titled "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective" that drew back the historical lens to look at the Irish from a national perspective. Their purpose was to find out if there really *was* a relationship between ethnicity and occupation. The authors analyzed 10,000 sample households from the 1871 Canadian census, dividing their data

[47] Smyth and Houston, "Better Questions," 9.
[48] Smyth and Houston, "Better Questions," 14.

into eighteen distinct ethnic-religious groups and cross tabulating this with eight occupations.[49] Their research shows that from a national perspective, there is too much variation between groups as well as within each group to delineate any relationship between ethnicity and occupation. In terms of the Irish, the authors found that there is "a seeming lack of a very distinctive occupational distribution of the Irish-Catholic population."[50] In fact they discovered that "there was in Canada in 1871 a very substantial Irish-Catholic farming population and sizeable bourgeois and artisan groups."[51] More remarkably, the authors found that in Canada West (Ontario), the Irish-Catholics "were predominantly a farming population."[52] Catholic Irish farmers were also well represented in the rural economies of Quebec (forty percent) and the Maritimes (New Brunswick-35.5 percent, Nova Scotia- twenty-seven percent). Subsequently, Darroch and Ornstein suggest that ethno-occupational patterns are only visible at a more regional or local level where "ethnic occupational structures…are generated within the context of local political economies."[53]

What is interesting is that although the Darroch and Ornstein analyzed the same census as Smyth and Houston, the 1871 census, Darroch and Ornstein's findings on the Irish in Ontario were very different. If credibility could be established purely in terms of scholarship, Darroch and Ornstein's comprehensive work outweighs the preliminary paper written by Smyth and Houston. Nonetheless, the widely divergent interpretation between the two sets of authors based on the same source is still curious. The

[49] A. Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective," *Canadian Historical Review* LXI, no.3 (1980): 309-310.
[50] Darroch and Ornstein, 314.
[51] Darroch and Ornstein, 314.
[52] Darroch and Ornstein, 325.
[53] Darroch and Ornstein, 330.

significance of "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective" is threefold in the historiography. First, the authors illustrate through solid evidence that the Irish in Canada cannot be viewed as a monolithic whole. What emerges as a pattern in one geographic region is not necessarily applicable to another. This first point overlaps with the second. Darroch and Ornstein argue that ethnicity cannot be defined in essentialist terms. The authors argue that ethnicity needs to be defined "primarily as social responses to specific exigencies of survival and to differential structures of opportunity."[54] Finally, and perhaps most significantly, Darroch and Ornstein show that the Irish were a complex group, well integrated in both the rural and urban worlds and at all levels of society. Subsequently, this newly emerging picture of the Irish was reinforced by Donald Akenson in his book, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History.*

Published in 1984, *The Irish in Ontario* is a microstudy of the Leeds and Lansdowne Township, an area just outside of Kingston, Ontario. Akenson studied the growth and development of the area in the nineteenth century to find out where the Irish were situated and how they fared. Akenson draws his conclusions from a number of different Canadian censuses, provincial and national, notably between 1842 and 1871 as well as municipal and other local records (e.g. surveyor maps, land patent and assessments, diaries, newspapers and organization records). Akenson shows how the township was rapidly altered by the influx of Irish Protestant immigrants starting in 1825. By 1842, evidence shows that Protestant Irish were the dominant ethnic group in the area and that these "Irish households did economically as well as or better than, the rest of the

[54] Darroch and Ornstein, 330.

population…."[55] In analyzing the effect of the Famine Irish on the area, Akenson comes up with some surprising results. Using the 1861 census, Akenson analyzed 319 separate farms in the Leeds area and discovered that the Catholic Irish, the Famine migrants, were the most successful.[56] He suggest this was a result of a number of factors: there was decent land coming onto the market at that time, the Famine Irish who had arrived in the area were not destitute, and psychologically, the adversity they had suffered would have hardened them into a determined group, bent on succeeding in the New World.[57] Akenson argues that the Leeds and Lansdowne township occupies the middle of the spectrum in terms of rural/urban, farming and percentage of the Irish living there. As such this microstudy can be used as a means of province wide analysis.[58] Akenson's salient points: during the nineteenth century, the Irish were the largest ethnic group in Canada West;[59] both the Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants were largely rural; and finally, there was very little in the way of differences between these two groups. While Akenson's book was a regional analysis it reinforces many of the interpretations of Darroch and Ornstein: essentially the Irish Catholics were every bit as successful as the Irish Protestants and that a regional focus is required in order to really understand the Irish Diaspora.

In 1988 P.M. Toner published a paper, "The Irish in New Brunswick at Mid Century: The 1851 Census," that found the Irish in a different set of circumstances than Akenson found in Ontario. Toner analyzes the 1851 census to isolate just over 47,000 Irish in the province. In order to delineate religion, a question not asked in 1851, he name

[55] Akenson, 199.
[56] Akenson, 248.
[57] Akenson, 258-261.
[58] Akenson, 338.
[59] Akenson, 9.

matched entries to the 1861 census, where a question on religion was asked. However, even with this, he was able to establish the religious status of only sixty percent of the Irish in New Brunswick.[60]

Toner argues that the Irish started arriving in New Brunswick before the Napoleonic Wars, earlier than is commonly believed. Toner was able to delineate distinct waves of migration noting that the largest population of the Irish inhabited St. John.[61] These earlier migrations outnumbered the Famine Irish influx four to one and had a greater impact on the region. The early Irish migrants had arrived to take advantage of the free land and were largely farmers (both landowning and tenant); however, by 1825, ability to own land dissipated as availability diminished while land value increased. Almost seventy percent of those listed as arriving during the Famine were identified as labourers.[62] Subsequently, Toner finds that by 1851 the Irish, both Protestant and Catholic, were overrepresented in the urban communities of New Brunswick. More significantly, Toner states that, there *was* a split labour market in New Brunswick. The Irish Catholics predominated in the unskilled labour sector compared to the Irish Protestants who were more established on farms. Toner suggests this could have been a result of timing as Irish Protestant groups arrived earlier and had access to better economic opportunities. Possibly the Protestants "simply worked harder to establish themselves after arrival."[63] This disparity between the Protestants and Catholics not only

[60] P.M. Toner, "The Irish in New Brunswick at Mid Century," in *New Ireland Remembered,* ed. P.M. Toner (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988), 108.
[61] Toner, "The Irish in New Brunswick," 122-128. Toner identified four distinct regions of Irish settlement that reflected these waves of immigration: St. John, southwestern New Brunswick (where loyalist settlers arrived during the 1780s), the Petitcodiac, and the North Shore.
[62] Toner, "The Irish in New Brunswick," 113.
[63] Toner, "The Irish in New Brunswick," 114.

held true but "was greatly exacerbated"[64] for the native born Irish. Toner deals with how his findings contrast with other scholars' research in a paper titled, "Occupation and Ethnicity: The Irish in New Brunswick."

In "Occupation and Ethnicity" Toner criticizes the research methods of Darroch and Ornstein, arguing that their analysis of the data was incomplete as they only accounted for the heads of households and only analyzed a sample of the census. He believes if they had included other male members of the household, their findings would have reflected his conclusion that the Irish Protestants were more successful than the Irish Catholics. He argues that recognizing the flaws in Darroch and Ornstein's work is critical stating that "Akenson has relied heavily upon Darroch and Ornstein. If they are correct, then Akenson is correct."[65]

Toner makes some constructive points in his two papers. In essence, he agrees with Darroch and Ornstein and Akenson by arguing that the Irish experience in Canada was multifarious: what occurred in one region was not necessarily what happened in another. As well, he points out another important aspect of diaspora studies: the need to study not only the Irish born but subsequent generations as well, arguing that "any group of immigrants…pass on to succeeding generations attitudes and values which eventually may set them apart as an ethnic group."[66] Simply put, more comprehensive analysis has to be done in order to gain a more complete picture. His critique that Darroch's and Ornstein's research is incomplete is justifiable. However, I would argue that Toner has misconstrued the conclusions reached by Darroch and Ornstein. They do establish the fact that there were no significant differences between the Irish Catholics and Irish

[64] Toner, "The Irish in New Brunswick," 118.
[65] Toner, "Occupation and Ethnicity," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 20, no.3 (1998): 158.
[66] Toner, "The Irish in New Brunswick," 117.

Protestants when analyzed on a national level but acknowledge that there were regional differences. What they were saying was that their evidence shows that the prevailing arguments of the time, notably those of Pentland and Duncan, did not stand up under quantitative analysis. As well, I would also take exception with how Toner perceives the link between Darroch, Ornstein and Akenson. To my reading of Akenson, his results came from his own original research and mentions Darroch and Ornstein only to state that their research agrees with his.[67]

In the 1990s, research on the Irish continued to develop and new and imaginative ways of accessing sources emerged. In "The Wealth of the Irish in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," published in 1996, author Livio Di Matteo, an economic historian, used probate records from 1892 and matched these with the 1891 Canadian census. By comparing the probate records with the census, Di Matteo accessed further socio-economic data as well as corroborated information in the probate records.[68] He ultimately traced 4,295 estates and was able to successfully match 3,515 of them.

Di Matteo argues that the advantage of probate records is in the detailed information they contain on specific assessments of wealth: real estate, financial, and personal property. As Di Matteo states, "wealth in probate records is inventoried to a degree not found in any other nineteenth-century source."[69]

Di Matteo discovered that when analyzing the data according to birthplace, Irish born were not as well off as Canadian born. As well, Irish born were more likely to be

[67] Akenson, 5 (f.4), 8 (fn.9), 46 (fn.61).
[68] Di Matteo, 212.
[69] Di Matteo, 211.

urban, have larger families and "less likely to be literate."[70] This was especially so for Irish Catholics. When analyzing the data according to age, Di Matteo found similar results: Canadian born were more successful than the Irish born. Yet, those Irish born *under the age of fifty* (in 1891 and 1892) were *more* successful than Canadian born of the same age.[71] Fundamentally, Di Matteo concluded other socio economic factors such as age, urbanization, literacy, occupational status etc. were the significant variables associated with wealth accumulation and that "religion and birthplace may have been important determinants of economic progress in the early part of the nineteenth century, but by the end of the nineteenth century, they were not."[72]

Di Matteo's research on the Irish and wealth was expanded on by Peter Baskerville in his paper, "Did Religion Matter? Religion and Wealth in Urban Canada at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: An Exploratory Study" published in 2001. Like Darroch and Ornstein, Baskerville looked at the Irish nationally, his purpose being to ask the question, "is there a statistically significant relationship between wage labour, entrepreneurship, wealth and the other measures of status and one's religious affiliation?"[73] Using a five percent sample of the 1901 Canadian census, a census with much more detailed information compared to its predecessors, Baskerville delineated Protestants by Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists and Catholics by Irish, French, French speaking (not born in Quebec) and English speaking (not Irish born or descendant).[74] Wealth was established by a number of determinants: space (ratio between

[70] Di Matteo, 216. For example, 85.8% of Irish were literate compared to English- 88.7% and Scottish- 94.2%.
[71] Di Matteo, 217.
[72] Di Matteo, 221.
[73] Peter Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter? Religion and Wealth in Urban Canada at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: An Exploratory Study," *Social History* 34, no.64 (May, 2001): 63.
[74] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 66.

number of people and living space), whether one owned a home, lot or acreage, total family income and finally, class (employer, employee or self-employed).[75]

Baskerville found that when looking at the relationship of religion and wealth from a national perspective, the Irish Catholics were well established comparatively. For example, Baskerville found that the Irish Catholics were fairly well represented across all the employment sectors. Further, Baskerville points out that while Irish Catholics "indeed have been a little over-represented in what are often considered to be inferior occupational and class categories," they were also " more likely than any other Catholic group to own homes and land, as likely as Anglicans, and close to Baptists."[76] In other words, when other determinants are factored into the equation, "a more rounded picture emerges."[77]

Looking at the census from a provincial level, Baskerville found that in many ways, Ontario and the Maritimes mirrored the national findings whereas in Quebec, the situation was different. There, Quebec-born Catholics' home and lot ownership rates were the highest of all groups largely because they lived in smaller communities where the cost of living was lower whereas the majority of Protestants as well as English and Irish Catholics lived in Montreal and "Montreal residents were the least likely among residents of any major city to own homes irrespective of religious/ethnic background."[78] Fundamentally, Baskerville argues that while there were differences between the ethno-religious groups, there was not enough there to correlate religion/ethnicity with wealth. As well, Baskerville finds that "Irish Catholics in many ways exhibited patterns of

[75] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 67
[76] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 73.
[77] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 73.
[78] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 81.

wealth/status achievement similar to those of the several Protestant denominations."[79] In other words the Irish Catholics, by the turn of the century, were firmly entrenched in the middle class.

As Baskerville himself notes, his research supports the broad conclusions drawn by Darroch and Ornstein, Akenson, and Di Matteo. The Irish Catholics, regardless of their prevalence in the ranks of labourers, were well represented over the spectrum of occupations and their material worth reflected an ethnic group that was well imbedded in the fabric of middle class society.

In 2003, the Irish in Quebec were the focus of "Irish Immigration and Settlement in a Catholic City: Quebec, 1842-61," written by Robert J. Grace, that reinforced the notion of regional disparities. Using correspondence and annual reports filed by immigration agents stationed at the Quebec port as well as the censuses for Quebec City for 1842, 1851 and 1861, Grace argues that the bulk of the Irish arrived during and after the Famine.[80] As well, by correlating his findings with other Irish scholars' work on nineteenth century migration from Ireland, Grace confirms that the bulk of the pre-Famine Irish migration was Protestant while, starting in the 1840s, Famine and post Famine migrations were increasingly Catholic.[81] Grace also found that the pattern of settlement in Quebec was different than in Ontario as the bulk of the Catholic Irish were unskilled, landless labourers that settled in mostly urban communities.[82] In discussing the disparity between his results and those of other scholars, Grace makes an important point when he states, "a clear understanding of the place of the Irish Catholic in Canadian

[79] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 90.
[80] Robert J. Grace, "Irish Immigration and Settlement in a Catholic City: Quebec, 1842-1861," *The Canadian Historical Review* 84, no.2 (June 2003): 227.
[81] Grace, 230-232.
[82] Grace, 245.

society in the nineteenth century must begin with the immigrant population."[83] Grace argues that studies that analyze both Irish born and subsequent generations of Irish "effectively mask the context in which the Irish-born adjusted to Canadian society,"[84] pointing out that Irish born two generations removed and a recent Irish immigrant represent completely disparate backgrounds and experiences. In other words, the results would be wholly different if one analyzes each of these groups separately.

While Grace's analysis of the Irish in Quebec is certainly authoritative, he fails to address the other factors that could have influenced the Irish Catholics' proclivity for urban living, namely the timing of their arrival and subsequent access to land and other economic opportunities. However, he does draw attention to the importance of recognizing Irish born and native born Irish as two relatively distinct entities that need to be analyzed accordingly.

As we have seen in this discussion, the Irish in Canada, and particularly the Irish Catholics, were subjected to the same pejorative myths in the academic literature that existed in popular culture, largely because scholars had little to go on other than contemporary sources, sources that were anecdotal and biased. Starting with Katz in the 1970s, systematic, empirical analysis was applied to the Irish and a more sophisticated image emerged. A new era of scholarship, utilizing quantitative methodology, discovered that the nineteenth century Irish were markedly different than had been assumed. Darroch, Ornstein and Baskerville, viewing the Irish from a national perspective, found the nineteenth century Irish represented across the board in most occupational and class categories. Further, these authors found that, at the national level, there was no definitive

[83] Grace, 248
[84] Grace, 248.

pattern suggesting a significant relationship between ethnicity/religion and occupation and wealth. Put another way, to properly understand the Irish diaspora, analysis needs to be done at the regional level and below. For example, whereas Akenson has found the Irish Catholics in Ontario to be successful rural inhabitants, Toner and Grace have found the Irish Catholics, in New Brunswick and Quebec respectfully, to be largely unskilled and urban.

Whereas earlier scholarship concluded that the occupational differences in Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants had to do with learned behaviors and innate tendencies, later research, in particular that done by Smyth and Houston, Toner and Akenson discovered that this interpretation was far too simplistic and such things as timing of arrival and the availability of land and/or economic opportunity played a significant part. In other words, analysis of socio-economic factors that existed at a specific period and in a specific place need to be done before we can fully comprehend why the Irish immigrants made the geographic and economic decisions that they did.

At present, very little in the way of studies of the nineteenth century Irish in Western Canada has been done, either quantitatively or by traditional qualitative approaches. There is a pittance of sources available and they do not deal with their subject in any great depth.[85] However, this situation appears to be changing as current research is starting to focus on Western Canada.[86] It is my intention to add a small piece to this puzzle with this thesis.

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[85] See Donal Déiseach, *"*The Irish in the Arctic: A Perspective on the Irish in Canada*,"* Richard Davis, "Irish Nationalism in Manitoba, 1870-1920," Hereward Senior, "Orangemen on the Frontier: The Prairies and British Columbia" and J.A. Lavin, "The Irish in British Columbia" in *The Irish in Canada: The Untold Story* eds. Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988); Margaret Ormsby "Some Irish Figures In Colonial Days," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 24, nos.1 and 2 (1950).

[86] This statement comes from impressions formed from informal conversations with Dr. Peter Baskerville.

The purpose of my thesis is to analyze the economic activities of the Irish in British Columbia (BC) through the 1881 Canadian Census.[87] The specific research question that I have posed is: in the case of the Irish in BC during this period, was there a relationship between ethnicity/religion and occupation? Prior to the coming of the railway in 1885, BC was isolated geographically from the rest of Canada by the Rocky Mountains and the economy was anchored not by agriculture but rather resource industries. The types of non-native settlers who were drawn to the region were largely single adult men, not families. From this a sort of 'distinct society' emerged that supplies a unique 'laboratory' in which to study the Irish.

In order to contextualize this research, I present a brief overview of BC's historical development in chapter two, focusing specifically on the type of resource extraction industries that emerged and the type of people that worked in these industries.

In chapter three, I focus on a quantitative analysis of the Irish in BC. Using the SPSS statistical analysis program, I isolate the Irish in BC in the 1881 Canadian census and then further delineate this group by gender, religion, and country of birth (Irish born and Canadian born). With this information, I compare these groups and apply statistical models appropriate for nominal variables in order to find out if there was first, a statistical relationship between occupation and religion and secondly, the strength of that relationship. Following this, I compare my research to the current historiography on the Irish in Canada focusing the discussion on differences and similarities between the two.

It is my hope that this research on the Irish in BC through the 1881 Canadian Census will make a small contribution to the growing historiography of the Irish diaspora in nineteenth century Canada.

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[87] When I use the term 'Irish' I am referring to all those with Irish ethnicity regardless of place of birth.

CHAPTER TWO

"DISTINCT SOCIETY"

As a province, British Columbia's early historical development was decidedly unique in the annals of Canadian history. A 'distinct society' emerged within this isolated region that "bore little resemblance to any in Britain or eastern North America."[88] British Columbia's early development was, as scholar Jamie Morton puts it, "a response to a unique mix of cultural and economic factors,"[89] factors that arose as a result of the province's rugged topography. The Rocky Mountains virtually guaranteed that British Columbia would be, until the arrival of the transcontinental railway in 1885, largely isolated from the rest of Eastern Canada. Instead, trade and cultural links were established in the Pacific region along the Northwest coast (i.e. San Francisco) and Britain. Furthermore, approximately only five percent of the region was suitable for agriculture; as such, agriculture never became the lynchpin of the economy. Starting with the arrival of the fur traders, BC's economy was centered on export based resource extraction industries. The people who were drawn to BC to work in these industries were not typically family-based but rather a population dominated by single adult males pursuing upward mobility through the economic opportunities available. With them came naturalized notions of nineteenth century liberalism that centered on the individual and concepts of property as well as more nefarious notions on race that, in essence, 'Othered'

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[88] Robert Galois, "A Population Geography of British Columbia in 1881," in *Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonial and Geographical Change* ed. Cole Harris (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997)153-155; Harris, "The Making of the Lower Mainland," in *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonial and Geographical Change,"* ed. Cole Harris (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 160.
[89] Jamie Morton, *Industry, Ideology, and Social Formation in British Columbia, 1849-1885* (Ph.D. diss., University of Victoria, 2005), 2.

the First Nations as well as other visible minorities (e.g. the Chinese). Furthermore, the society that developed in this remote section of the British Empire was "racially plural, rough and turbulent,"[90] a culture noticeably different than the idealized version of settler society envisioned by many British imperialists. By 1881, a handful of resource extraction industries emerged to replace the vacuum left by the Gold Rush. Focused around mining, foresty and fishing, these industries (and to a lesser extent agriculture) provided the foundation that promoted permanent non-native settlement in the region.

British Columbia's western and southern boundaries were largely defined by 1846 when the resolution of the Oregon Boundary Dispute established the border between the United States and British territory west of the Rocky Mountains.[91] This gave the British sovereignty in the Pacific Northwest north of the 49th parallel as well as Vancouver Island. For over fifty years, this area was as remote as one would find in the British Empire, a vast fur trading region populated by a miniscule 'white' population living within a dense, culturally diverse indigenous population. In fact, this demarcation between American and British territory did little to change the status quo other than to force the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to reestablish supply routes north of the Columbia River.[92] To stave off the further northern advance of American settlement, the Colony of Vancouver Island was established in 1849 and its stewardship entrusted to the HBC. One of the conditions of this stewardship was the colonization of the Island. However, the logistical difficulties of migration (travel by sea or overland could be

[90] Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 3.
[91] Barry Gough, "The Character of the British Columbia Frontier," in *Readings in Canadian History: Preconfederation* 5th ed., ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1998), 469.
[92] R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, *Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974), 294.

exceedingly difficult and take months),[93] a restrictive land policy and limited agricultural potential severely hampered this enterprise and non-native settlement remained sparse.[94] By the mid-1850s, the bulk of this non-native settlement- approximately seven hundred persons- lived on or around Vancouver Island with only a smattering of population on the mainland.[95]

The relative tranquility of this isolated region abruptly ended in 1858 when news of potentially rich gold deposits on the Thompson River reached the outside world. During 1858, an estimated thirty thousand people arrived in British Columbia in pursuit of riches.[96] The initial thrust was into the Fraser canyon and instant communities emerged as miners, utilizing basic placer mining techniques, focused on extracting the gold found on or just underneath the surface of sand bars. This rush petered out as quickly as it began leaving many disillusioned miners in its wake. [97] Subsequently, significant discoveries in the Cariboo region led to a second boom in the early 1860s. By this time, most of the surface gold was gone and placer mining gave way to more sophisticated hydraulic operations that could extract the gold from deeper underground. The cost of these operations was beyond the financial means of most individual miners; now "technical expertise, managerial skills, and money became the keys to success."[98] Many miners had no choice but to become waged employees for the gold mining companies or ancillary industries or to pursue other occupations; others simply gave up and returned home. Although gold remained a significant export in the region right up to

[93] John Douglas Belshaw, "The West We Have Lost: British Columbia's Demographic Past and an Agenda for Population History," *The Western History Quarterly* 29, no.1 (Spring, 1998):28.
[94] J. I. Little, "The Foundations of Government," in *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia*, ed. Hugh J.M. Johnston (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1996), 77.
[95] Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 61.
[96] Barman, *The West*, 65.
[97] Barman, *The West*, 67-68.
[98] Barman, *The West*, 73.

the 1880s, by 1865 the boom was largely over. As abrupt and short lived as the British Columbia Gold Rush was it was to have a singularly profound impact on the unique historical development of the province.

James Douglas, the governor of Vancouver Island, was not unprepared for the influx of miners. From the early 1850s, the HBC was aware of the potential gold deposits within its territory and had been discreetly collecting gold mined by both Natives and HBC employees. Douglas believed that gold could supply the HBC with a new source of revenue at a time when the fur trade was in permanent decline. However, he was also concerned that the arrival of Americans could potentially leave the region vulnerable to U.S. annexation. As early as 1852 he had established precedent by requiring licences from all prospective gold miners working in the Queen Charlottes. As news spread about the Thompson River, Douglas acted quickly, decreeing that all gold mines on the mainland were Crown property and only those purchasing licences were allowed to establish claims. The fact that Douglas did not have any actual legal jurisdiction on the mainland was corrected soon enough when the region was established as a separate Crown colony- British Columbia (BC)-in August of 1858.[99] The following year, the HBC grant for Vancouver Island was not renewed and it became a Crown colony as the Colonial office in London moved to assume administrative control of the region.[100]

To insure continued British hegemony in the region, the colonial government needed to establish effective economic, civil and judicial control. To funnel trade east to west through the Lower Fraser Valley, an expensive and extensive project of road

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[99] Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1958), 145-151.
[100] Jean Barman, "The Emergence of Educational Structures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," in *Readings in the History of British Columbia*, eds. Jean Barman and Robert A.J. McDonald (Richmond: Open Learning Agency, 1989), 84.

building was commenced on the mainland culminating in 1865 with the laudable engineering achievement of the 600 kilometre long Cariboo road.[101] Law and order had been established in rudimentary form by the early 1850s, not only to police the white settlers but also to keep the much larger indigenous population subjugated under British control. By the early 1860s, a regular police force existed in Victoria and magistrates were assigned to the gold mining communities on the mainland to police and regulate the mining industry and resolve local disputes. Crown authority was buttressed by a sole judge: Matthew Baillie Begbie, whose circuit court dealt with both civil and criminal matters.[102]

Land policy quickly evolved to meet the needs of settlement. As farmers arrived on the mainland to capitalize on the sudden demand for foodstuffs, the former Wakefield policy- an elitist policy that established the cost of crown land beyond the reach of most settlers- was now regarded as an anachronism and ill-suited for the development of the mainland. By 1861, the cost of land had been drastically reduced from the original price of four dollars an acre to one dollar an acre.[103] As well, a pre-emption policy was introduced in 1860 that would allow a settler, either British or an alien that swore allegiance to the Crown, to stake 160 acres of land and, upon validation of visible improvements, first right of purchase. Subsequently hundreds of properties were staked and by 1870, over three hundred farms were in operation in the Lower Mainland.[104] Likewise, cattle ranches were established, eventually reaching into the Cariboo by the mid 1860s. In 1865, the government established a pastoral lease system that charged for

[101] Little, 75-76.
[102] Little, 80-84.
[103] Little, 77-78.
[104] Barman, *The West*, 87-88.

the use of crown land and limited grazing usage in an early attempt at land conservation.[105] Government regulation extended as well to mineral and water rights and by the 1870s, a fairly substantial land policy was in existence.[106]

By 1881, the impact of non-native settlement was widespread. Industry and agriculture dotted the landscape as sawmills, mines and farms spread along the coast, small settlements had grown into permanent towns[107] and telegraph links connected BC with both Britain and the U.S.[108] Victoria evolved from a tightly knit frontier town to a major centre, one that supported a number of churches of various denominations, numerous cultural establishments (e.g. social clubs, theatres, libraries and benevolent organizations) as well as firmly established links with San Francisco.[109] The regime of power was firmly entrenched within the white population and based upon a liberal order doctrine, an ideology centered on "a concept of property that was less European than English."[110] In essence, private property was regarded as a necessary precursor to upward mobility.

As Canadian scholar Ian McKay illustrates, the nineteenth century version of liberal doctrine was an ideology that supported the primacy of the individual. From this were projected three tenets: liberty- or the individual's "natural right" to liberty; equality- a natural outgrowth of personal liberty; and, at the top of this hierarchy, property- as this

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[105] Harris and Warkentin, 306.
[106] Cole Harris, "The Fraser Valley Encountered" in *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonial and Geographical Change* ed. Cole Harris (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 125.
[107] Sharon Meen, "Colonial Society and Economy," in *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia*, ed. Hugh J.M. Johnston (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1996), 97.
[108] Harris, "The Making of the Lower Mainland," 84.
[109] Stella Higgins, "British Columbia and the Confederation Era," in *British Columbia and Confederation,* ed. W. George Shelton (Victoria: Morris Printing Co. Ltd., 1967), 23-27.
[110] Harris, "Fraser Valley," 126.

was "the precondition of one's liberty in the first place."[111] This ideology was transported to the Pacific region by an immigrant population intent on improving its lot by pursuing the opportunities emerging in a nascent resource-based economy.[112] By 1881, this transported ideology had become naturalized and "a regime of property backed by the colonial state provided means of and protection for development."[113]

From the beginning, non-native settlement was one of diverse ethnicity. Those who arrived in the region during the fur trade years were a "complex ethnic milieu" of Scots, English, other Europeans, Métis, and even Hawaiians.[114] Of the estimated thirty thousand who arrived in 1858, the bulk came from the U.S.; however, contemporary sources reveal that approximately only one third of this influx was native born Americans; the other two thirds consisted of English, French, German and other western and central European ethnicities as well as black and Chinese immigrants.[115]

The bulk of these newcomers were part of an itinerant group of miners emerging from the earlier California Gold Rush. Significant to this group was the fact that it consisted mostly of individual adult males rather than families.[116] Emerging from this homosocial, nomadic environment was a rough and bawdy culture that embraced hard drinking, gambling and violence and relationships with native women,[117] a culture that "substantially departed from Victorian social norms and ideals."[118] Because of the

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[111] Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, no.4 (December 2000): 624.
[112] Morton, 24-25.
[113] Harris, "The Making of the Lower Mainland," 101.
[114] Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau 1807-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 40-41.
[115] Clarence G. Karr, "James Douglas: The Gold Governor in the Context of His Times," in *The Company on the Coast* ed. E. Blanche Norcross (Nanaimo: Nanaimo Historical Society, 1983), 64; Morton, 206-207.
[116] Harris and Warkentin, 297.
[117] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire,* 40-44.
[118] Perry, 17.

transient nature of the gold mining economy and the fact that the majority of the population was Aboriginal, efforts by "reformers" to encourage these groups to conform to more "civilized" codes of conduct were largely met with indifference or resistance.[119]

By 1871, the year of BC's entry into Confederation, most of the early influx of miners had disappeared as the Gold Rush had passed its zenith. Estimates place non-native population at about ten thousand, the bulk living in the south east corner of BC on Vancouver Island and in the Lower Mainland.[120] It is not possible to clearly delineate ethnicity within the non-native population from this period. However, analysis of sources indicates that most of the Americans had returned home and the "residual" non-native population was becoming increasingly British and Canadian. According to the 1881 Census of Canada, over seventy percent of the non-native population was male and over sixty-five percent of the inhabitants were from either Canada or the United Kingdom.[121] American economic, cultural and social influences remained to varying degrees, but political and legal institutions were clearly British.[122] This transformation occurred in an inordinately short space of time and, as scholar Sharon Meen points out, "the process was not gentle,"[123] particularly on the indigenous people.

The impact on the First Nations was overwhelming and devastating. Some estimates place the decline of the Native population in the decade after 1858 at fifty percent.[124] In 1862 alone, a smallpox epidemic decimated the population by

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[119] Perry, 196.
[120] Barman, *The West*, 100.
[121] *Census of Canada 1880-81* (Ottawa, 1882). All data analyses of the 1881 Canadian Census were performed using SPSS version 15.0.0 (SPSS Inc., Chicago IL, 2006) except when otherwise specified.
[122] Sage, 14.
[123] Meen, 97.
[124] Harris and Warkentin, 299.

approximately one-third.[125] By the 1870s, vaccination reduced the threat of smallpox; however, tuberculosis remained a serious threat and contributed significantly to the mortality of the First Nations. Native population, greatly reduced in size, did not start to stabilize until the mid 1880s.[126]

As already noted, the non-native population arrived in the area with set assumptions concerning private property and progress. Intertwined within these ideas on colonial imperialism and the inherent "superiority of British civilization" were racist assumptions that implicitly and explicitly established the Native people as "the Other." As Cole Harris states, "for most whites, the Natives were a different, incomprehensible, racially identifiable people whose economic usefulness was acknowledged, but whose social status was not measured by any scale that included whites."[127] By the mid 1860s, Indian land policy, executed by Joseph Trutch, entrenched this racism in public policy. To Trutch, the First Nations were viewed as "savages" who should be displaced because they were under-utilizing the land. Trutch initiated a policy of "adjustment" which significantly reduced the size of the preexisting Native reserves to appease white settlers and their requirement for land.[128] Nonetheless, for a time, the First Nations played a principal role in the new economy. By the 1870s, they were employed in all of the resource industries and until the early 1880s were the primary source of labour. However,

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[125] Meen, 97.
[126] Hugh J. Johnston, "Native People, Settlers and Sojourners, 1871-1916" in *Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia,* ed. Hugh J. Johnston (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1996), 170-171.
[127] Harris, "Lower Mainland," 81-84.
[128] Robin Fisher, "Joseph Trutch and Indian Land Policy," in *Historical Essays on British Columbia,* eds. J Friesen and Harry K. Ralston (Ottawa: Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, 1976), 258-263.

First Nations were largely engaged in the economy as seasonal and casual workers, incorporating wage labour into their traditional cyclical subsistence economy.[129]

While the liberal order became naturalized in the region, democratic government was slow in coming. Until 1858, BC was largely controlled by what Adele Perry refers to a "tightly interwoven fur-trade cabal" dominated by Douglas and largely clustered around Vancouver Island. [130] Douglas' autocratic style of power was further cemented by the fact that the Act establishing BC as a colony in 1858 allowed the governor to rule by decree, reflecting British reticence in allocating power to a largely transient population living on the mainland. Inevitably, by the 1860s, the HBC "Family Compact" was challenged by a Reform Group, led by the colorful Amor De Cosmos, demanding representative government.[131] Movement in this direction started in 1863, but it was not actually until 1871 that BC's legislative Assembly became fully elective.[132]

The Gold Rush was crucial to BC's early development; however, the gold economy alone was not capable of sustaining a settler population. The Vancouver Island and BC colonies were already in debt from the feverish road building into the Interior; ironically, by the time the Cariboo Road had been completed, the Rush was petering out. Now the government had mounting debt while revenues were falling.[133] To counter these financial difficulties, the decision was made in 1866 to amalgamate the two colonies thereby eliminating the cost of two separate government assemblies. Although this did lighten the burden, the new colony of BC still carried a debt load of approximately 1.5

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[129] John Sutton Lutz, *Makuk: A New History of Aboriginal- White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008) 192; Johnston, "Native People," 168.
[130] Perry, 14.
[131] Barman, *The West,* 74, 80-81.
[132] Barman, *The West,* 101.
[133] Barman, *The West,* 81.

million dollars.[134] Put another way, nearly one-third of BC's revenue went to servicing the debt. Ultimately, this debt (at least temporarily) was relieved by the federal government when BC joined Confederation in 1871.[135] To maintain and expand the settler population, alternative economies had to be developed. Fortunately, BC's ample natural resources allowed for the development of resource based industries.[136]

Agriculture, while an important local industry that employed a significant number of people, never developed into an export based resource industry prior to the coming of the railway. The first commercial farms emerged during the HBC days, when the Company was contracted to supply foodstuffs to Russia's North American fur posts; during this period, private farming was negligible.[137] However, as noted earlier, the arrival of the Gold Rush in 1858 created a ready and profitable market. In the Upper Fraser area, farmers focused on the growing of grain, particularly wheat and barley; processing emerged in the form of grist and flour mills as well as breweries and distilleries. As well, the influx of miners into the Cariboo led to growth of cattle ranching in the area. [138] During the decade of the 1860s, total acres under cultivation grew from just over 5,000 to almost 18,000 and cattle ranching spread throughout the Okanagan, Thompson and Nicola Valleys.[139] By 1870, agriculture was the second most common occupation employing about thirty percent of the non-native population;[140] nonetheless,

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[134] Paul A. Phillips, "Confederation and the Economy of British Columbia," in *British Columbia and Confederation*, ed. W. George Shelton (Victoria: Morris Printing Company Limited, 1967), 47.
[135] Little, 86-88.
[136] Phillips, "Confederation," 49.
[137] Harris and Warkenton, 294-295.
[138] Phillips, "Confederation," 49-50.
[139] Phillips, "Confederation," 49; Barman, *The West*, 88.
[140] H.L. Langevin, "British Columbia. Report of the Hon. H.L. Langevin,C.B., Minister of Public Works," in *Canada Parliamentary. Sessional Papers. Parliament 1-61 (1867-1925)* [microform] (Princeton N.J.: Princeton Microfilm Corporation, n.d.), 152

BC continued to import the bulk of its agricultural products.[141] Throughout the 1870s, most of the farms were family based, small scale mixed operations, responding to the demands of the local market as well as the needs of the family itself. Men would interrupt their work on their farms to take on waged employment in the other resource industries.[142]

There were a number of factors that hindered agricultural development in BC during this period. First were the limitations of topography and infrastructure: approximately only five percent of BC's mountainous region was suitable for agriculture; farms were scattered, and the lack of roads meant access to markets was difficult.[143] With this lack of infrastructure, farming remained a local affair with no external markets. Secondly, there were the environmental challenges: land around the Fraser was prone to flooding and the cost and effort of clearing the dense forests were formidable.[144] Thirdly, farming as an occupation paled next to the potential gains from gold mining.[145] Finally, many of the farming operations that emerged as a result of the gold rush were capitalizing on a lucrative but short term market. There was little in the way of long range planning;[146] as Sharon Meen states: "when the party was over, many farms were abandoned."[147]

The bulk of agricultural operations in BC were located in the Lower Mainland and the southern part of Vancouver Island. Throughout the 1870s in the Lower Mainland, the farm population evolved in large part from chain migration, drawing

[141] Phillips,"Confederation," 50; Barman, *The West*, 88.
[142] Harris, "Lower Mainland," 89.
[143] Morton, 33.
[144] Harris, "Lower Mainland," 87.
[145] Morton, 33.
[146] Harris and Warkentin, 308.
[147] Meen, 104.

settlers from eastern Canada and the British Isles and contributed to distinctive religious concentrations in communities in this region. [148] These facts are borne out by my own independent analysis of the 1881 census. Out of those that listed themselves as farmers in the district of New Westminister, almost thirty-eight percent were from Eastern Canada and forty-nine percent were from the British Isles with distinct concentrations of Anglicans (23.6 percent), Wesleyan Methodists (22.4 percent) and Presbyterians (24.1 percent).[149] By 1881, fifteen percent of the non-native male population of BC listed their occupation as agriculture based (e.g. general farmer, dairy, livestock, poultry etc.).[150] The ethnic background of the farmers reflected the dominant presence of the British Isles in non-native settlement during the 1870s: 34.9 percent were British, 23.5 percent were Scottish and 17.8 percent were Irish. This predominance was also reflected in religion: twenty-eight percent were Anglican, 15.6 percent were Presbyterian and 15 percent were Roman Catholic. When a larger subset- which incorporates all ethnic groups- is analyzed, agriculture is still dominated by those of British descent; however, a significant portion of those in agriculture were First Nations (18.9 percent). [151] Essentially, it was not until the arrival of the railway in the mid-1880s that agriculture emerged as a viable export industry in BC.[152]

For the first half of the nineteenth century, the forestry industry in BC focused almost exclusively on supplying local markets and as such was largely undeveloped.

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[148]Galois, "A Population Geography" 89.
[149]*Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[150] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. This data set consisted of only non-native males aged 15 and over.
[151] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. In order to develop a realistic subset through which to compare non-native population and agricultural occupations, I analyzed only the non-native males aged fifteen and older. Significantly, a further 18.9% were listed as unspecified laborers; it is quite feasible that a large number in this group worked in the agricultural sector. Further, the census does not reflect the family oriented nature of the industry as women are largely invisible in terms of occupation in the census.
[152] Margaret Ormsby, "Agricultural Development in British Columbia," *Agricultural History* 19, no.1 (Jan. 1945):13.

This remained the case until the mid 1850s when markets in California, Australia, the Hawaiian Islands, Chile and China increased demand for lumber. By the mid 1850s, small operations on Vancouver Island were responding to these demands but were limited by labour shortage, the U.S. tariff on imports, and competition from the growing lumber industry in Puget Sound. However, the collusion of capital and government led to the development of major lumber operations first in Port Alberni and subsequently, and more successfully, in the Burrard Inlet. [153]

Seeing an opportunity to directly challenge the lumber industry further south in Puget Sound, Edward Stamp, a former sea captain and commission agent with connections to both markets and capital, acquired from the colonial government considerable incentives (2,000 acres of land and 15,000 acres of timber limits virtually for free) to establish a major sawmill on Vancouver Island. By 1861, the Anderson Mill in Port Alberni was in operation and over the next few years produced lumber and spars primarily for the export markets mentioned.[154] At its peak in 1863, the Anderson Mill was producing over 11,000,000 board feet of sawn lumber for the export market and almost 900,000 board feet for the local demands.[155] Nonetheless, the proprietors, citing a lack of resources and profit, stopped production and the mill was eventually abandoned by 1866.[156] Nonetheless, the organization of the Alberni Mill, where all factors of production, transportation and marketing were organized under a single cohesive

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[153] Robert A.J. McDonald, "Lumber Society on the Industrial Frontier: Burrard Inlet, 1863-1886," *Labour/Le Travail* 33 (Spring 1994): 74-75.
[154] Morton, 269-280.
[155] W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island Part II: 1855-1866," *BC History Quarterly* 2 (1938): 107.
[156] Morton, 289. There has been some disagreement among historians over the cause of the Alberni Mill's demise. Lamb accepts the word of the proprietors that the Mill was not producing a profit, constrained by lack of supply and technology; see Lamb, 108. Morton disagrees with this assessment instead arguing that the closure was the result of "the difficulty in mustering and maintaining a suitable industrial labour force in this remote enclave;" see Morton, 297.

corporate structure, served as the template for the subsequent development of the lumber industry in the Burrard Inlet.[157]

Although sawmilling had been established on the Inlet as early as 1863, it was not until 1865 when a group of entrepreneurs led by Sewell Moody appeared on the scene that the industry there started in earnest.[158] With the establishment of trade links and a grant of 5,000 acres from the colonial government, Moody's Mill went into operation and was producing an average of 324,000 board feet a month by 1868.[159] Followed closely by Moody was Stamp, emerging from the failed Alberni operation with a new company and fresh capital. Again Stamp received incentives from the colonial government, buying 1200 acres and leasing 15000 acres for a nominal fee on condition that the land would be utilized. Established in 1865 in present day Stanley Park, Stamp's Mill eventually started production in 1867 and by mid 1868 was producing an average of 341,750 board feet of lumber a month.[160]

In the midst of these sawmilling operations, frontier society emerged. By 1869, there were three villages in the Inlet: Hastings (named after the new name for Stamp's Mill), Moodyville and Gastown (Granville). Hastings and Moodyville were essentially paternal company towns whereas Gastown functioned as commercial centre consisting of saloons, stores, laundries and restaurants. Like most of the resource based communities in BC during this time it was a largely homosocial environment.[161]

The industry gradually developed as the total value of BC lumber exports grew from $3,416 in 1861 to a high of $252,154 in 1869. During the 1870s there was a general

[157] Morton, 323-324.
[158] MacDonald, "Lumber Society," 73.
[159] Morton, 405,406.
[160] Morton, 412, 416.
[161] McDonald, "Lumber Society," 80-81.

stagnation of the economy in BC; however the forestry industry continued to expand, albeit with fluctuations. In 1870, exports had diminished to $128,257, over half the value of the previous year. By 1873, the industry appears to have halted its decline, generating a total value of lumber exports of $211,026 eventually reaching a high of $327,360 in 1878 only to stagnate again generating only $172,647 in 1881.[162] Nonetheless, the forestry industry established itself right beside the coal and fur industries as a "major component of the British Columbia economy." [163]

Both Robert McDonald's and Jamie Morton's research shows an industry dominated by an "Anglo-North American" labour force.[164] My own analysis of the 1881 census supports this: analyzing those males over the age of fifteen that are identified specifically in occupations relating to the forestry industry, 63.5 percent listed their ethnic origin as English (eighteen percent), Scottish (28.3 percent) or Irish (17.3 percent). Likewise, of this 63.5 percent, sixteen percent listed their birthplace as the U.S. and forty-eight percent listed their birthplace as Eastern Canada.[165] Furthermore, the labour force was characterized by a split labour market: the "Anglo-North American" labour force occupied the core skilled positions of the industry while the unskilled, casual positions were more apt to be filled by a diversity of other ethnic groups, most notably First Nations workers (16.6 percent).[166] While this percentage of First Nations workers is significant, it appears to under represent their actual participation as contemporary sources illustrate a "significant Aboriginal involvement in the work force."[167]

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[162]Langevin, 5; Morton, 426-428.
[163] Morton, 427.
[164] McDonald, "Lumber Society," 83; Morton, 461. The term "Anglo-North American" is borrowed from Morton, 439.
[165] *Census of Canada 1880-81.*
[166] Morton, 461; *Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[167] Morton, 451-452.

Mining exports continued to be dominated by gold until the early 1880s, but it was a resource in decline. Gold exports, while still representing sixty percent of all exports in 1881 were down from seventy-five percent a decade earlier. Contemporaneously, coal emerged as a new major export commodity. By 1884, the value of coal production in BC surpassed that of gold.[168]

Coal production in BC had its beginnings at Fort Rupert in 1835 when the HBC attempted to develop coal deposits first learned about from the First Nations. However, production was hampered by the poor quality of coal seams, a lack of funds and labour disputes and Fort Rupert was eventually abandoned in 1850 for a new location further south in Nanaimo.[169] Production started in Nanaimo in 1852 and grew from 5,000 tons in 1852 to over 40,000 tons in 1868.[170] By 1881, total output in BC had reached 228,000 tons, the bulk coming from the Nanaimo coalfields.[171] In 1862, the HBC decided to remove itself from the mining industry and all its assets were sold to the Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company (VCMLC). Liberal terms for development offered by the government led to a number of speculative ventures; however, by the 1870s, the coal industry was consolidated around two major players: the VCMLC and Robert Dunsmuir.[172]

From the beginning the bulk of coal was produced for export. There was a steady supply going to the navy based in Esquimalt but apart from this, the demands of the local market were small. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, coal exports continued to increase

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[168] Paul Phillips, "The Underground Economy: The Mining Frontier to 1920," in *Workers, Capital and the State in British Columbia,* ed. Rennie Warburton and David Coburn (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 150-151.
[169] John Douglas Belshaw, *Colonization and Community: The Vancouver Island Coalfield and the Making of the British Columbia Working Class* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002) 23-24.
[170] Phillips, "Confederation," 51.
[171] BC, *Sessional Papers,* "Report of the Minister of Mines, 1881" (Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1882), 400.
[172] Morton, 333-335.

(growing from $240,000 in 1874 to a peak of $1,000,000 in 1884), the bulk going to San Francisco.[173] Commission agents and coal merchants with their trade links and access to capital were crucial to the industry's development.[174]

From the outset, strikes were a common occurrence in the coal mines in BC. Underlying these conflicts were the dangerous working conditions (and the mining owners' general disregard for worker safety), inconsistent quality of the seams (which directly affected miners' income), and class and racial conflict that reflected the presence of a split labour market.[175] Skilled workers were recruited for Fort Rupert from the British Isles and this group rigorously retained its hegemony in the industry throughout the nineteenth century. The unskilled sector was much more ethnically diverse but populated largely by First Nations and subsequently the Chinese. While those of European ancestry could be promoted on the basis of merit, Chinese and First Nations were permanently retained in the unskilled positions being paid approximately half the wage.[176] While the 1881 census does not clearly delineate mining occupations in terms of type, it still shows quite clearly that coal mining was dependent on an imported workforce. Out of the almost twenty ethnic groups listed those whose ethnicity was 'British' represented 33.5 percent of the workforce (English- 15.5 percent, Irish- 8.1 percent and Scottish- 9.9 percent). Furthermore, out of this 33.5 percent, almost seventy-four percent were foreign born. The Chinese were the most dominant of all ethnic groups, representing fifty-nine percent of mining workers, and literally one hundred percent of

[173] Morton, 329.
[174] Morton, 336.
[175] Phillips, "The Underground Economy," 147,151; Belshaw "Colonization," 86.
[176] Morton 342-345; BC, *Sessional Papers*, "Report of the Minister of Mines, 1881" 401. In the Nanaimo mines in 1881, First Nations were paid between $1- $1.50 per day and the Chinese were paid $1-$1.25 per day as opposed to "white" workers who were paid on average $2- $3.75 per day.

this group was foreign born. Unfortunately, while the First Nations were a prominent ethnic group in the coal mines, their numbers are not reflected in the census. As alluded to earlier, the First Nations are severely under enumerated in the census in terms of occupation (out of 25,257 First Nations compiled, 19,935 are listed as having 'no occupation').[177]

Coal remained the leading mining export in BC throughout the nineteenth century. Production continued to expand rapidly and by the 1890's was generating on average over 900,000 tons a year (at a value of approximately four million dollars), the bulk coming from Nanaimo.[178] However, coupled with this expansion were the continuing problems of racial and class conflict as miners fought against wage cuts, mining conditions and the use of other ethnic groups, particularly the Chinese, whom they perceived were undermining wage levels. For their part, the mining owners, particularly Robert Dunsmuir, were intransigent towards the miners, using military action to end the strikes. Ultimately, these early conflicts in the mining industry shaped future labour union politics and safety legislation in BC in the coming century.[179]

Fishing had been a way of life for the First Nations since time immemorial, a principal part of "the annual round of resource procurement."[180] With the arrival of the fur traders in the early nineteenth century, a small local market developed.[181] By the early 1820s, the HBC had experimented with exporting dried fish to England and California

[177] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[178] Phillips, "The Underground Economy," 151.
[179] Phillips, "The Underground Economy," 161.
[180] Harris, 'The Making of the Lower Mainland," 74.
[181] Diane Newell, *The Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry: A Grown Man's Game"* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1989), 3.

but it proved to be too perishable at these distances.[182] Ultimately then, the process of canning was crucial to the development of the fisheries as an export in BC.[183]

Transplanted to BC by immigrants arriving from Scotland (where canning was first used in the fishing industry) and New Brunswick, canning processing grew rapidly from 1871 on. By 1880, 62,000 cases were being produced annually and canning represented ninety-five percent of the value of all fish exports, the bulk being shipped to Great Britain.[184] Yet again, commission agents were to play a crucial role in the canning industry's development, supplying start up capital as well as supplying the marketing and shipping. By 1877, direct investment by U.S. capital further accelerated the industry's expansion. [185]

The work of canning was both labour-intensive and seasonal. The processing plants were set up close to the sockeye spawning grounds where fish were rapidly caught and canned before spoilage set in.[186] Within the processing plants themselves, a split labour market existed. Unfortunately, the 1881 Canadian census is vague in terms of identifying those directly connected with the canning industry.[187] However, numerous contemporary sources reflect work processes strongly delineated along racial lines.

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[182] Phillips, "Confederation," 54.
[183] H. Keith Ralston, "Patterns of Trade and Investment on the Pacific Coast, 1867-1892: The Case of the British Columbia Salmon Canning Industry," *B.C. Studies 1* (1968-69): 167.
[184] Newell, *The Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry*, 4; Harris, "the Making of the Lower Mainland,"93; Morton, 465-466.
[185] Morton, 474; Ralston, "Patterns of Trade," 171. It is interesting to note that although Morton agrees with Ralston in principle, he does not consider the relationship between canners and agents to be as clearly dichotomous as Ralston's interpretation, instead arguing that "the roles of individuals…seem to have been fluid, with the demarcation between producer and agent at best an arbitrary one." 474.
[186] Ralston, "Patterns of Trade," 169.
[187] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. For example, while the First Nations were by far the largest group affiliated with fishing (83% of the total) it is difficult to clarify who were involved with the "traditional" First Nations economy and who were fishing for the canning industry. Likewise, the Chinese were the second largest ethnic group (4.7% of the total) within the fishing industry; however, 34% of those Chinese enumerated in the census were listed as simply labourers. It is quite likely that a significant number from this category worked as canners.

Fishing was done largely by First Nations men, working as independent contractors; First Nations and Chinese men dominated the canning process, and Euro-North American males occupied the "skilled" occupations: the mechanics and foremen of the plants.[188] By the 1880s, the canning industry stagnated somewhat due in part to slow salmon runs and increased competition from other fishing grounds (e.g. Alaska). Nonetheless, the main market for the exports continued to be Great Britain which in turn brought British capital to the industry.[189]

By 1881, the imprint of non-native settlement in BC was clearly evident. In the space of a few decades, BC had rapidly evolved from a region dominated by First Nations culture and economy into a place where non-native settlement and industry dotted the landscape and where the First Nations, while out-numbering the new settlers, were 'Othered' by assumptions of 'white' superiority naturalized in society and formalized in government policies. Within non-native settlement a clear form of 'distinct society' emerged where the bulk of the settlers were adult males and the primary sources of industry were in export based resource extraction. While cultural influences of the U.S. were present, BC's institutions and culture clearly reflected its connections to Britain. Likewise, within industry, numerous ethnic groups were represented, yet hegemony clearly resided around workers of 'British' or "Anglo-North American" backgrounds and split labour markets were the norm as occupations were delineated by race as well as skill. Still, with all of this, BC remained mostly wilderness. Non-native settlement was concentrated around the Strait of Georgia: Victoria, Nanaimo and New Westminster;

[188] Morton, 500-513. Morton draws from numerous contemporary sources (newspapers, government documents etc.) to confirm the presence of a split labour market.
[189] Ralston, "Patterns of Trade," 172.

outside of this region, BC was sparsely populated.[190] The collusion of government and capital provided the conditions and economies of scale needed for the development of BC's resources.

However, minimal infrastructure and BC's rugged landscape coupled with the lack of technology clearly hindered the development of the emerging resource industries. As well, due to BC's remote location, the province suffered from a continuous shortage of labour. This however had a positive effect in the long term. As early as the Gold Rush, BC became known in Eastern Canada and the United States as a place of opportunity where substantially higher wages were paid.[191] Subsequently this served as a pull factor, drawing largely itinerant men from various ethnic backgrounds, including the Irish, to BC for employment. These resource industries of BC ultimately became the catalyst for long term settlement and the subsequent growth of BC.

The 1881 Canadian Census represents the first comprehensive picture of BC after the colony joined the Confederation. While limited in many respects, a fair amount of information can be drawn out by a thoughtful and comprehensive analysis of the census. With this historical background as a contextual anchor, we can now use the census to analyze the Irish in BC.

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[190] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[191] Morton, 251-253; *Dominion of Canada: A Handy Book for Emigrants* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1880), 123. Morton notes that by 1870 the wages paid for agricultural workers in BC were 50% higher on average than those paid to comparable labourers in the United States.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IRISH IN BRITISH COLUMBIA IN 1881

Ten years after BC's entry into Confederation, the first comprehensive survey of the province was conducted by the federal government. The 1881 census is a snapshot of a province in a state of transition, not only economically but culturally. The impact of a small but growing polyglot settler population was transforming a region now "hinged between a largely Native past and largely non-Native future."[192] For social historians, the census serves as an effective analytical tool facilitating access to a period when modern BC was first emerging; however, this analytical tool has both advantages and limitations.

The census of 1881 was typical in that it reflected the society of its day or, put more pejoratively, its biases. Fundamentally, the census was constructed by white society for a white society. In the case of BC, neglect or exclusion of certain groups as well as types of classifications reflected these biases; as Robert Galois states: "simple categories labeled the 'otherness' that permeated British Columbia in 1881."[193] For example, Natives, while representing over fifty percent of the population in BC recorded in the census, were under enumerated as well as badly enumerated in the census. Many indigenous communities in northern BC were ignored and in other districts, enumerators only recorded the names of the household heads of First Nations communities, dismissively labeling the other members in the home as 'wife,' 'girl,' 'boy' etc. [194] As well, the extent of the First Nations' involvement in the market economy was not

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[192] Galois, 137.
[193] Galois, 157.
[194] Lisa Y. Dillon, "International Partners. Local Volunteers and Lots of Data: The 1881 Canadian Census Project," *History and Computing* 12, no.2 (2000):170; SPSS; Galois 157. To be fair, access to northern BC was quite difficult and most certainly played a major factor in this neglect.

reflected in the census. My own analysis of the First Nations in the census (covered in the previous chapter) shows that their contributions to the new economy were largely ignored.[195]

Women were another group whose economic activities were virtually non-existent in the census. For example, the census lists almost ninety percent of white women fifteen and over as having no occupation. Some of this is explained by the fact that almost seventy percent of this group was married; however when analyzing the remaining group of women that were single, divorced, or widowed, 76.3 percent were nonetheless still listed as having 'no occupation.'[196] Under enumeration of women's contributions to the economy was not only the result of the prevailing gender bias of the day but also women's own perceptions of their contributions. Kris Inwood and Richard Reid, in their study of gender and occupational identity in the 1871 Canadian census, found that "working women were less likely than working men to describe themselves as having an occupation," and as well "marriage was a powerful disincentive to reporting an occupation, especially in a rural environment."[197]

The conversion of the original census into machine readable form was a joint project undertaken by the Church of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) and the University of Ottawa. The tabulation of the full census was done primarily for the requirements of genealogical research but a complete database offers numerous advantages for the social historian as well. For example, with a complete census, historians have the capability to

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[195] *Census of Canada 1880-81.* Seventy-eight percent of all Natives enumerated were listed as having no occupation regardless of the fact that contemporary accounts show that First Nations men and women were significantly involved in most of the resource industries.
[196] *Census of Canada 1880-81.*
[197] Kris Inwood and Richard Reid, "Gender and Occupational Identity in a Canadian Census, *Historical Methods* 34, no.2 (Spring 2001): 65, 67.

break down the census into subsets of ethnic groups for analysis; they can link individuals between databases (e.g. probate records, property tax records etc.); and they can isolate specific regions, cities or towns for analysis.[198]

The 1881 census is somewhat limited for the historian compared with later censuses. For instance, it lacks questions on home ownership, year of immigration, and does not report the relationship between household heads and other members of the household.[199] Nonetheless, starting in 1851 a question was asked on religion and from 1871 onwards, the Canadian censuses started to include two other pieces of information crucial for diaspora studies: a person's ethnic origin and their place of birth.[200] So, as a general index, the census does give us enough information to develop a picture of the Irish diaspora in BC in 1881.

Out of the almost 50,000 people living in BC that were recorded in the census, only 3,067 people listed their ethnicity as Irish. However, within the settler population, the Irish were the fourth largest ethnic group in BC in 1881.[201] As well, within the Irish group in BC, there were more Irish born (40.8 percent) when compared to the national average of those Irish born living in Canada (19.2 percent).[202]

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[198] Dillon, "International Partners,"163.
[199] The question of home ownership and its correlation to upward mobility maybe not as crucial to the analysis of groups in BC in 1881 as one might suppose. Mark Choko presents a compelling argument that many migrants in Montreal in the late nineteenth century who had the means to own a home chose not to do so as it would inhibit their ability to "respond to fluctuations of employment." Considering the itinerant, homosocial nature of the work force in BC and the type of industries present in 1881, I would argue that a similar argument could be made for BC. See Mark Choko, "Ethnicity and Home Ownership in Montreal, 1921-1951," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 26. no.2 (Mar. 1998): 38.
[200] Smyth and Houston, "Better Questions," 3.
[201] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. English- 14.8%, Chinese- 8.8 %, Scottish- 7.8 % and Irish- 6.3%.
[202] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. Out of the 953,263 people listed in the Canadian census of Irish ethnicity, 182,707 of them were born in Ireland as compared to BC where out of 3,067 of Irish ethnicity, 1252 of them were Irish born.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The bulk of the non-native settler population was concentrated around the southwestern region of BC in the Strait of Georgia and the Irish were no exception. [203] Over forty-two percent lived on Vancouver Island, the majority of whom resided in the city of Victoria itself (29.3 percent). On the Mainland, the Irish were dispersed roughly along the Fraser River system, with over twenty-nine percent living along the coast, largely in the southern region, and 20.2 percent living in the Fraser Canyon in and around Hope and Yale. Only 277 Irish (nine percent) were listed as residing farther north in the Cariboo region.[204]

Like the larger settler population, the majority of the Irish were single adult men. Of the 3,067 Irish, 2,103 of them were male (68.6 percent), their average age being approximately thirty-one years old. Within this Irish male group, only 18.7 percent were listed as married. Of the 964 Irish women listed in the census, their average age was just over twenty-one years and only 335 of these women (34.8 percent) were married. For the Irish in BC, the Roman Catholic religion was the dominant faith (39.4 percent). The rest of the Irish identified themselves with Protestant denominations, Anglican being the most prominent (20.7 percent) followed by Presbyterian (15.4 percent), and Methodist (11.2 percent).[205] While these statistics portray a general picture of the Irish in BC, a more detailed analysis is required.

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[203] For further information on the dissemination of population in BC in 1881 see Galois, cited earlier in this paper.

[204] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. This is based upon analysis of the five electoral districts of BC in 1881: Victoria, Vancouver (as in Vancouver Island), New Westminister (which roughly encompassed the northwest and southwest coast), Yale (which covered the Yale, Hope and what is now the southern and central Interior) and Cariboo (from approximately Williams's Lake northward). Unfortunately the tabulated census did not breakdown the electoral districts into their subdistricts for a more concise analysis.

[205] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.

As mentioned above, of the 3067 Irish listed in the census in BC, a significant number of them (1252 or 40.8 percent) were immigrants from Ireland. Broken down by gender, 996 Irish males and 256 Irish females were Irish born.[206] Canadian born (or native born) and Irish born represent the vast majority of the Irish in BC during this period (eighty-seven percent). With this in mind, this study will focus on the analysis of Irish born and native born Irish. I will proceed by first analyzing females followed by males, comparing Irish born and native born. Following this I will compare my findings of the Irish in BC with the historiography of the Irish in Canada.

IRISH FEMALES IN BC

As a total group, married Irish females were in the minority; however, the vast majority of Irish born females in BC in 1881 were married (seventy-four percent).[207] The majority of Irish born females lived on Vancouver Island (fifty-one percent in the city of Victoria, 14.2 percent outside Victoria on the Island). Of the fifty-one percent that lived in Victoria, 70.9 percent were married.[208] While it is impossible to know how many children Irish women had on average as there was no question on relationship of household head to other household members, there can be some general conclusions obtained indirectly from the census. Of the 964 females of Irish ethnicity in the census, forty percent (or 462 females) were fifteen and under. Of this group, the overwhelming majority (eighty-eight percent) was born in Canada and of this Canadian group, eighty-three percent were born in BC. What is interesting is that there were only six females in the data set of females fifteen and under that were listed as born in Ireland and four were

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[206] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[207] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. The data set for Irish born females encompasses all those females born in Ireland regardless of age. The average age of Irish born married females was just over 41 years old.
[208] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. 22.1% of the Irish born women lived on the west coast of BC, 8% in the Yale and Hope area, and 4% in the Cariboo region.

from the same family.[209] Furthermore, out of the 2103 males of Irish ethnicity, 483 were age fifteen and under and of this group, only fourteen were born in Ireland. Of the 422 from this group born in Canada, eighty-two percent of them were born in BC.[210] If we make the reasonable assumption that a substantial part of this group were offspring of Irish men and women, this suggests that most Irish born married women were mothers and that many of these mothers were starting their families after they arrived in BC; however, there appears to be very little in the way of migration of families directly from Ireland to BC during this time.

In comparison to Irish born females, native born Irish females were the larger group (63.3 percent). They were significantly younger in age (thirteen on average) and were mostly single (81.3 percent). However, these figures are somewhat misleading. Out of the total 610 native born females, 410 were fifteen and under in age, the average age of this group being seven years old. Of the remaining 200 women sixteen and older, their average age was twenty-seven. Within this group of 200 women, fifty-four percent were married, their average age being thirty-one. Only twenty-eight percent of this group was born in BC, the rest arriving from Eastern Canada.[211] As mentioned above, the vast majority of native born females and males fifteen years of age and under were born in BC. The same then applies to native born married women as it does to Irish born married women: most of them were having children and were doing so after they arrived in BC.

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[209] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. The surname of the four women was Graham, ranging in age from 7 to 14 and living in the Yale area.
[210] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. In fact, the totals of children aged fifteen and under born in BC for both Irish women and men are very close (336 for females, 346 for males).
[211] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. 42% of women coming from Eastern Canada came from Ontario.

Native born Irish females were dispersed in the region roughly along the same lines as the Irish born (see table 3.1).[212]

Table 3.1: Native Born Irish Females

Location	Percentage
Vancouver Island	53% (35% lived in Victoria)
West Coast region	30 %
Fraser Canyon (Yale and Hope)	12%
Cariboo Region	6.2%

While the majority of Irish females were Protestant, there were clear differences in the religious affiliation between Irish born and native born females in BC. Almost forty-four percent of the Irish born were Roman Catholic, the remainder of Irish born females belonging to Protestant faiths with the Anglican Church being the most dominant (see Appendix 1.1). In comparison, only about twenty-five percent of native born females were Catholic, the rest spread over Protestant faiths (see Appendix 1.2). While there is no information in the census that identifies what part of Ireland the Irish born women came from, ratios between Catholics and Protestants in Irish born women in BC correspond to similar ratios between Catholics and Protestants from Northern Ireland during the same time period.[213]

In terms of Irish women and occupation, sadly the census is largely silent. In the late nineteenth century, it would be primarily those women that were single or divorced that would be in the labour force. Of the women born in Ireland that fit this category, 72.4 percent of them were listed as having no occupation; of the remaining women that did

[212] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. Percentage ratios remained approximately the same for all the above mentioned subsets of native born women.
[213] Martin Melaugh and Brendan Lynn, "Cain Web Service: Background Information on Northern Ireland Society- Religion." February 25, 2008, < http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/ni/religion.htm#la>, November 24, 2008.

list themselves as employed, the bulk worked in traditionally female oriented occupations (see table 3.2). [214]

Table 3.2

Irish Born Women- Occupation	Total	Percent
No Occupation	42	72.4%
Chemists	1	1.7%
Nurses	1	1.7%
Teachers	2	3.4%
Governesses	1	1.7%
Members of Religious Orders	4	6.9%
Hotel Keepers and Managers	1	1.7%
Housekeeper	1	1.7%
Servants	2	3.4%
House Servants	2	3.4%
Dressmakers	1	1.7%

For native-born Irish women, the situation in the census is much the same. Of those single and divorced women age 16 and over, 76.1 percent of them were listed as having no occupation, the remainder dispersed along typically female occupations (see table 3.3).[215]

[214] *Census of Canada 1880-81.*
[215] *Census of Canada 1880-81.*

Table 3.3

Native Born Irish Women-Occupation	Total	Percent
No Occupation	70	76.1%
Nurses	1	1.1%
Teachers	8	8.7%
Members of Religious Orders	1	1.1%
Musical Performers	1	1.1%
Clerks	1	1.1%
Housekeeper	1	1.1%
Servants	3	3.3%
Hairdressers	1	1.1%
Dressmakers	4	4.3%
Bookbinders	1	1.1%

While the census obviously greatly under-represents women's contribution to the economy, it does reflect the fact that that there were few opportunities for women during this time. Adele Perry, points out that the BC economy was gendered around males and focused on resource extraction. For women, "opportunities for wage work were sharply limited."[216]

IRISH MALES IN BC

The census is much more informative when it comes to Irish males. Of note is the fact that a significant number of them (996 or 47.3 percent) were born in Ireland. Put another way, there were more Irish born males in BC than there were native born. Furthermore, virtually all of Irish born males were adults (ninety-nine percent were fifteen and over) their average age being about forty-two.[217] Unlike Irish born women,

[216] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire,* 167. While there is a large and growing historiography of feminist scholarship in British Columbia historical studies, there appears to be very little on the occupational activities of women around the time period in question. For further reference see Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds., *British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on Women* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992).

[217] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. The age range of Irish born males was mostly between 25-60 years of age. Only 14 Irish born males were 15 and under.

married Irish born men were significantly in the minority (243 or 25.9 percent of Irish born men) and they were on average slightly older (forty-five years old). [218] Unfortunately, the census cannot tell us if these men arrived directly from Ireland or not; however, some appear to have. Jamie Morton points out that a 'self supporting system of chain migration" from the British Isles- which included a number of Irish men- sustained the supply of coal miners to the Vancouver Island mines and contributed to their dominance in the coal mining industry there through the latter half of the nineteenth century.[219]

In comparison to Irish born males, a significant number (399 or forty-four percent) of the 897 Irish males born in Canada were children fourteen years and younger, their average age being approximately six years old. Of this group, 82.5 percent were born in BC. Of the remaining 498 adult males from this group, the average age was almost thirty-one. Only 14.5 percent were born in BC, the rest arrived from Eastern Canada.[220] Like Irish born males, married native-born males were very much in the minority (22.2 percent) and as well were slightly older than their single counterparts (thirty-eight years old).[221]

In terms of religion, there were again clear differences between Irish born and native born. For Irish born men, Roman Catholicism was the predominant religion (fifty-five percent) followed by Protestant faiths, most notably Anglican and Presbyterian (see Appendix 1.3). In comparison, native born Irish men were by and large Protestant with only 24.6 percent identifying themselves as Catholic (see Appendix 1.4).

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[218] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[219] Morton, 342.
[220] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. The majority of native born males born in Eastern Canada came from Ontario (almost 58% of the total).
[221] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.

The census provides a fair amount of information about the occupational patterns of Irish males. The focus of this analysis will be to analyze the occupations of Irish males, delineating them by birth (Irish born or native born) and marital status (married or single). As well, Michael Katz found, through statistical analysis, an association between religion and occupation when it came to the Irish Catholics in Hamilton in the 1850s. I want to find out if there is the same statistical association between Irish Catholics and occupation in BC in 1881.

If we look at the occupations of single Irish born males fifteen years of age and older, we find the following breakdown (see table 3.4).[222]

Table 3.4

Irish Born Males- Single- 15 and Over (Total of 638)
White collar occupations- 8.8%
Agricultural occupations- 14.3%
Service based occupations- 5.0%
Trades based occupations- 9.6%
Mining occupations- 20.1%
General labour occupations-35.7%

The number one occupation listed is that of labourer. A significant number of these labourers (136 out of a total of 228 or sixty percent) were situated in Yale where they were most likely employed on the crews blasting tunnels for the CPR railway.[223] The second largest occupation was mining; however, the census does not specify what 'type'

[222] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. It must be noted that these are arbitrary categories delineated by the author. To create these categories I combined the different categories of occupation and recoded them into the six categories seen in table 3.3. As well, labour categorization in the 1881 census were somewhat nebulous: for example, depending on the enumerator, someone labelled as a labourer could have as easily been working in mining or agriculture as opposed to general labour and listed as a "miner" or "farmer." This is discussed further on pages 66-67.

[223] Pierre Berton, *The Last Spike: The Great Railway 1881-1885* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 187.

of mining. As noted in the last chapter, although gold was a resource in decline it still dominated all mining exports throughout the 1870s and represented sixty percent of all mining exports in 1881. Looking at Irish born miners by district reveals that the bulk of them did not reside on Vancouver Island where the two major coal mines were but on the Mainland around the Fraser River and up into the Cariboo (see table 3.5).[224]

Table 3.5: Irish Born Males listed as Miners- 1881 Canadian Census

Location	Total	Percentage
New Westminster	53	41.4%
Cariboo	41	32.0%
Yale	14	10.9%
Victoria (City)	13	10.2%
Vancouver	7	5.5%

Coupled with the fact that mineral mining did not emerge until the end of the nineteenth century this would then suggest that the bulk of these miners (84.3 percent) were probably involved with gold mining. The remaining twenty miners listed as residing on the Island most probably worked in the coal mines. The third most common occupation for Irish born single males was agriculture and as would be expected the majority of these people were situated around the Fraser Valley and on Vancouver Island.[225] However, compared to these above mentioned occupations, Irish born single males were less present in the trades, service, and 'white collar' professions.[226] As well, Irish born single males were nearly non existent in the fisheries (0.8 percent) and were

[224] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[225] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. While the occupation of farming suggests a more stable workforce this perception needs to be qualified by the fact that as Cole Harris puts it: "farming was essentially a subsistent operation, an interminable labour that men might interrupt by wage work in New Westminister, on a road-building crew, or in a logging camp or sawmill." ("Lower Mainland," p.89)
[226] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. Examples of white collar professions are doctors, accountants, lawyers, teachers and government functionaries.

only slightly more visible in the service industry (3.8 percent or twenty-eight persons) and the forest industry (2.3 percent or fifteen persons).[227] Not surprisingly, a significant percentage of single Irish born men were engaged in professions that required an itinerant workforce, one able to relocate in accordance with the economic opportunities available. A different picture emerges when looking at Irish born married males.

In comparison to Irish born single males, the occupational breakdown of the 243 Irish born married males listed in the census is noticeably different (see table 3.6). [228]

Table 3.6

Irish Born Males 15 and Over- Married (Total of 243)
White collar occupations- 16.0%
Agricultural occupations- 38.3%
Service oriented occupations-8.6%
Trades based occupations- 14.0%
Mining occupations- 4.9%
General labour occupations-13.2%

The main profession of Irish born married men was agriculture. Irish born married males were also present in the trades, labouring, white collar work and the service industry but were barely visible in mining (4.9 percent or twelve persons involved in both coal and gold) and were non-existent in the forestry and fishing industries. The dominance of agriculture and the lower percentages in mining and labouring strongly suggests that Irish born married men, for the sake of family, tended towards more stationary, settled occupations.

In comparison to the 638 Irish born single men in the census in BC during this time, there were significantly fewer of their native born counterparts (353 men aged

[227] *Census of Canada 1880-81*
[228] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.

fifteen and over). Also of note is the fact that compared to Irish born single men who were almost exclusively employed (only 3.6 percent or twenty-three out of 638 men were listed as without occupation), 15.5 percent (or fifty-five out the 353) of native born single Irish men were listed as having no occupation. Table 3.7 reports the occupations of native-born single Irish men (see table 3.7). [229]

Table 3.7

Native Born Irish Males 15 and Over Single (Total of 353)
White collar occupations- 10.5%
Agricultural occupations- 23.5%
Service based occupations-4.8
Trades based occupations- 15.6%
Mining occupations- 11.0%
General labour occupations-17.6%

While agriculture was the most common occupation for native born single men, it did not dominate, employing only eighty-three people out of a total of 353. Next to agriculture, labouring was the most common occupation with almost fifty percent of this group working in Yale on the railway. Native born men were, to a lesser extent, also present in the trades, mining (primarily gold), the service industries and the white collar industries. Like their Irish born counterparts, native born single men were barely visible in the forestry industry (1.9 percent) and non-existent in the fisheries.

Native born married men represent the smallest subset of the total amount of Irish men working in BC in 1881 (111 men). The breakdown of employment for native born men is very similar to their Irish born counterparts: agriculture was the most common occupation employing a significant portion of this group (forty-five people or forty-one

[229] *Census of Canada 1880-81.*

percent) followed by white collar, trades based and service based occupations (see table 3.8). [230]

Table 3.8

Native Born Irish Males 15 and Over Married (Total of 111)
White collar occupations- 22.9%
Agricultural occupations- 41.0%
Service based occupations-14.4%
Trades based occupations-18.0%
Mining occupations- 2.9%
General labour occupations- 6.7%

In terms of labouring, only a handful of native-born married men were listed in the census (seven people or 6.7 percent). Yet again, like their Irish born counterparts, native born married men were nearly absent from the economic extraction industries: five men worked in the forest industry, only three men were in mining, and they were non-existent in the fishing industry.

It is evident from looking at the occupations of the different groups of Irish men that there were clear differences in occupations both between Irish born and native born men as well as Irish married men and single men. For example, in the case of marital status, the two prominent occupational categories that employed almost fifty-six percent of all Irish born single men were labouring (35.7 percent) and mining (20.1 percent). In comparison, Irish born married men were more prominent in agriculture (38.3 percent) and white collar professions (sixteen percent); only 13.2 percent were involved in labour oriented work and 4.9 percent were in mining. The same can be said about native born Irish, albeit less so. Agriculture was the number one occupation for both native born

[230] *Census of Canada 1880-81.*

single and married men; however, only 23.5 percent of single native born men were farmers as opposed to 36.3 percent of their married counterparts. Beyond this similarity the two groups were quite disparate: for example, over 17.6 percent of native-born single men were in labour occupations and eleven percent were involved in mining. Conversely only 6.3 percent of their married counterparts were labourers and barely any (2.9 percent) were working as miners.

If we compare Irish males fifteen and over (both Irish born and native born) strictly by marital status, these disparities appear in greater relief (see table 3.9). [231]

Table 3.9

Irish Males 15 and Over- Single (Total of 1165)	**Irish Males 15 and Over- Married (Total of 394)**
White collar occupations- 8.8%	White collar occupations- 18.5%
Agricultural occupations- 16.2%	Agricultural occupations- 36.0%
Service based occupations-4.8%	Service based occupations-7.4%
Trades based occupations -12.1%	Trades based occupations -17.0%
Mining occupations-15.5%	Mining occupations-5.1%
General labour occupations-31.8%	*General labour occupations-11.2%*

If we analyze Irish males solely by place of birth, the occupational disparities in some of the categories are less visible; nonetheless, Irish born males are noticeably more present in general labour categories compared to their native born counterparts (see table 3.10).

[231] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.

Table 3.10

Irish Males 15 and Over- Irish Born (Total of 924)	**Irish Males 15 and Over- Native Born (Total of 475)**
White collar occupations- 10.7%	White collar occupations-13.1%
Agricultural occupations- 20.8%	Agricultural occupations- 27.2%
Service oriented occupations-6.2%%	Service Oriented Occupations-4.6%
Trades based occupations-11.1%	Trades based Occupations-17.1%
Mining occupations-16.0	Mining occupations-9.5%
General labour occupations-29.0%	*General labour occupations- 14.7%*

By looking at these two tables it is evident that Irish single males, and especially those born in Ireland, tended towards the lower end of the occupational spectrum of employment. We need to look at the possible factors that can account for these disparities.

As stated earlier, a significantly higher proportion of Irish born males were Catholic (fifty-five percent of the total) compared to their native born counterparts (24.6 percent). As well, there were almost twice as many Irish born males fifteen and over as there were native born Irish males of the same age group. As such, Catholicism was the dominant denomination (45.1 percent) among all Irish males fifteen and over, something of possible significance in nineteenth century BC with its decidedly British cultural and administrative infrastructure. Keeping this dynamic in mind and noting the occupational differences between Irish born and native born Irish men, the question needs to be asked whether being ‘Irish and Catholic’ in BC during this time would have had any effect on choice of occupation.

One way to analyze this is within the Irish group itself. By dividing Irish males fifteen and over into separate data sets of Catholics and Protestants and comparing them we find the following (see table 3.11). [232]

Table 3.11

Irish Males 15 and over- Catholics (Total of 731)	**Irish Males 15 and over- Protestants (Total of 725)**
White collar occupations- 8.9%	White collar occupations- 13.8%
Agricultural based occupations -12.3%	Agricultural based occupations -28.8%
Service based occupations- 6.4%	Service based occupations-5.4%
Trades based occupations – 10.5%	Trades based occupations -15.9%
Mining occupations- 13.9%	Mining occupations-11.6%
General labour occupations- 39.9%	*General labour occupations-14.3%*

As can be seen by this table, Irish Catholic males are noticeably more prevalent in general labour occupational categories compared to Irish Protestant males.[233] In order to investigate this further, we need to compare the Irish Catholics with the other two main "white" ethnic groups in BC at that time that were almost exclusively Protestant: the English and Scottish. By creating a dataset that combines males fifteen and over from these two ethnic groups we find the following results (see table 3.12). [234]

[232] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. The dataset of Protestants was comprised of the mainstream Protestant religions: Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist which constituted over 85% of the total amount of those males 15 and over with Protestant affiliations.
[233] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. The same discrepancies in labour categories hold true when analyzing Catholics and Protestants broken down into categories of Irish born (35.5% compared to 17.7%) and native born (21.7% compared to 9.7%).
[234] For those males 15 and over of English and Scottish descent over 90% were Protestant and only 3.5% or 176 persons were Catholic. This dataset is comprised of the mainstream Protestant religions: Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist (see footnote 40).

Table 3.12

Protestant Males 15 and Over English and Scottish (Total of 4090)
White collar occupations- 15.9%
Agricultural based occupations – 22.8%
Service based occupations-5.6%
Trades based occupations -19.1%
Mining occupations- 11.9%
General labour occupations-15.5%

Again we see differences in occupations compared to Irish Catholics. Whereas Irish Catholics are concentrated in the lower end of the spectrum, the economic profile of English and Scottish Protestants share noticeable similarities to the economic profile of Irish Protestants. English and Scottish Protestants are more prominent in agricultural occupations and are not as present in general labour categories compared to Irish Catholics.

If we are going to question whether this economic profile of Irish Catholics could be a result of religious bias on the part of a predominantly Protestant settler society in BC during this period, then we need to compare the Irish Catholics to two groups that are well documented in the historiography as being 'Othered' by the hegemonic group economically and culturally during this period: the Chinese and the First Nations. By looking at the Chinese in the census, we see very clearly what the historiography of BC documents (see table 3.13).

Table 3.13

Chinese Males 15 and Over (Total of 4002)
White collar occupations-4.3 %
Agricultural based occupations- 2.1%
Trades based occupations- 3.1%
Service oriented occupations- 12.1% (61% of this group were employed as cooks)
Mining Occupations- 38.8%
General labour occupations- 35%

Out of 4002 Chinese males fifteen and over, only a small percentage of them were employed in white-collar work, agriculture and the trades. However, 1551 of these males were employed in mining (where they were by far the dominant ethnic group employed) and a further 1392 Chinese males were in general labouring work (where a significant percentage of them were likely in Yale working on the railway).[235] Combined, labouring and mining work employed over seventy-three percent of all Chinese males fifteen and over.

The stratification of the First Nations is even more pronounced in the census (see table 3.14).[236]

Table 3.14

First Nations Males 15 and Over (Total of 7168)
Trades based occupations- 2.3%
Agricultural based occupations- 6.3%
Trappers/Hunters- 10.3%
Fishing occupations- 19.2%
General labour occupations – 17%
Unemployed- 42.7%

[235] James Morton, *In The Sea of Sterile Mountains: The Chinese in British Columbia* (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd, 1974), 80.
[236] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.

Over 3050 of Native males fifteen and over from a total of 7168 were listed as unemployed. Of the remainder, Native men were virtually non-existent in white collar work (sixteen in total) and service occupations (thirty-five in total), and only marginally present in trades (168 in total). However, noticeably higher numbers worked in agriculture and significantly more Native males were fishermen, trappers and hunters, and general labourers.

The problem with the above categorical analysis of the First Nations is that the census did not accurately document the contributions made by the First Nations to the economy. Jamie Morton, in his dissertation, *Industry, Ideology, and Social Formation in British Columbia, 1849-1885* and John Lutz, in his book, *Makuk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* both clearly illustrate that the First Nations were extensively involved in all aspects of BC's market economy. For example, Lutz illustrates how the First Nations were extensively employed in coal mines starting in the 1840s and "as late as 1913 the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission on Indian Affairs noted that the coal mines were a major source of employment for the Snuneymuxw people."[237] However, out of a total of 25, 257 First Nations people enumerated in the 1881 census, only fifty people were listed as miners. [238]

Regardless of these limitations, the census still indicates that, for the First Nations and Chinese, employment was stratified. If we look at actual percentages of ethnic groups within occupational categories, we see that First Nations and Chinese males dominated certain areas of employment, some almost exclusively. For example, Chinese males comprised fifty-seven percent of all those listed in the census as employed in the

[237] Lutz, 173.
[238] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. It must be noted that of those First Nations that were employed in the mining industry, many were probably listed in the census as 'labourers.'

mining sector. Likewise, out of the 1550 males listed as fishermen in the census, 1377 of them (or 88.8 percent) were First Nations. Finally, the Chinese and First Nations combined dominated general labour categories representing over sixty-five percent of those males fifteen and over listed in the census as general labourers.[239]

It is obvious from looking at the occupational breakdown of the First Nations and Chinese that it is different to that of the Irish Catholics. While they were certainly concentrated in the lower echelons of jobs, Irish Catholics were represented across the board of occupational categories. Further, Irish Catholics were not the dominant ethnic group in any one employment category. Nonetheless, while it appears that the Irish Catholics were not segregated in the economy like the First Nations and Chinese, this does not diminish the fact that analysis suggests that there was a 'ghettoization' of the Irish Catholics in the workplace. For example, as mentioned above, the Irish Catholics were not the dominant group in any particular employment category and they were not the dominant ethno-religious group in labour employment when compared to the English, Scotch and Irish Protestants (see table 3.15).

Table 3.15

Ethno-Religious Group (Males 15 and Over in general labour Occupations)	**Percentage of Total for General Labour Occupations (combined total of 1029)**
English Protestants (total of 381)	37.0%
Scottish Protestants (total of 252)	24.5%
Irish Catholics (total of 292)	28.4%
Irish Protestants (total of 104)	10.0%

[239] *Census of Canada 1880-81.* If all the First Nations in BC had been enumerated in the census, this percentage most certainly would have been even higher.

However, if we compare the actual numbers of English, Scottish and Irish Protestants to Irish Catholics we see the clear predominance of Irish Catholics in labour categories (see table 3.16)

Table 3.16

Ethno-Religious Group (Males 15 and Over)	**Total of Ethno-Religious Group in all Occupations**	**Portion of Ethno-Religious Group in Labour Occupations**
English Protestant	2523	381 (15.1%)
Scottish Protestant	1567	252 (16.1%)
Irish Protestant	725	104 (14.3%)
Irish Catholics	*731*	*292 (39.9%)*

Irish Catholics were the second largest group out of the four ethno-religious groups analyzed in table 3.15. However, the Irish Catholics were the second smallest group in terms of actual numbers and the actual percentage of Irish Catholics found in labour work was significantly larger than the other groups.

If we are going to consider the possibility that religion is the critical variable for Irish Catholics when it comes to employment, then we need to look at the economic breakdown of other Catholics in the census. Using a dataset consisting of males in BC aged fifteen and over whose ethnic background is either French, English, Scottish, German and Italian, I isolated the Catholics in this group to see if their occupational breakdown was similar to Irish Catholics (see table 3.17).[240]

[240] For other Catholics I focused on those ethnicities where there were a significant amount of Catholics and whom the hegemonic group in BC during the late nineteenth century would have considered 'white' as it has already been established that visible minorities in BC were 'Othered' and marginalized .

Table 3.17

Other Catholic Males 15 and Over (Total of 705)
White collar occupations- 12.5%
Agricultural based occupations – 25.0%
Service based occupations-5.5%
Trades based occupations -13.8%
Mining occupations- 8.8%
General labour occupations-20.3%

If you compare this table to table 3.11 (Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants) and table 3.12 (English and Scotch Protestants), there are two things to note. First, the overall percentages of these Catholics in the first four job categories are more similar to the Protestant groups than the Irish Catholic group (note the similar percentages in agriculture). Secondly, other Catholic males are higher in general labour categories compared to Protestants (20.3 percent versus 15.5 percent) but still noticeably less than Irish Catholics (39.9 percent versus 20.3 percent). So, the analysis of the census so far does suggest that, when it comes to employment in BC in 1881, there is a "peculiar combination of being Irish and Catholic."[241] Nonetheless, we have to recognize that there could be other factors that could account for the Irish Catholics' predominance in the lower ranks of employment.

The Irish Catholics' prevalence as general labourers could have been largely influenced by the timing of their arrival in BC and subsequent employment available. As we have seen in the introductory chapter, a number of scholars have found this to be the case.[242] As well, I noted on page fifty-seven that a significant portion of the Irish born

[241] See the discussion on Michael Katz and his book, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century Town* on page 9 and 10.
[242] See page 22. As well Darroch and Ornstein found this to be the case in their analysis of the evolution of occupation and ethnicity in Ontario from 1861 to 1871. See A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D Ornstein,

single males fifteen and over listed as labourers were situated in the Yale and Hope area where they were most likely working on crews blasting railway tunnels in the Fraser Canyon.

Economic opportunity could have been limited even further by the Irish Catholics' skill sets; it is quite possible that many Irish Catholics were only qualified for unskilled and semi skilled labour. Social historian David Fitzpatrick argues that for late nineteenth century emigration from Ireland, "the data suggest quite a strong correlation between the propensity to emigrate and the rate at which agricultural labourers had been disappearing since the Famine."[243] Kerby Miller, in his book *Emigrants and Exiles*, notes that for the years 1856 to 1910, over fifty-one percent of the emigrants from Ireland came from the western and southern provinces, areas where agriculture was the dominant economic activity. For example, during the year 1875, over seventy-eight percent of all emigrants leaving Ireland were listed as common labourers, farm labourers or servants.[244] Further, Toner suggests in his analysis of Irish in New Brunswick that one reason why more Irish Protestants than Irish Catholics were farmers in that province was simply because they came with more capital.[245] As well, as noted earlier in the chapter, much of the labour based employment in BC was itinerant in nature and more suited to single men and seventy-five percent of Irish males fifteen and over were single. Finally, it has to be acknowledged that the enumeration of the census may not be entirely rigorous when it came to writing down types of occupation. Peter Baskerville points out that in 1881 there

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"Ethnicity and Class, Transitions Over a Decade: Ontario, 1861-1871." *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1984): 124.

[243] David Fitzpatrick, "Irish Emigration in the Later Nineteenth Century," *Irish Historical Studies* 22, no.86 (Sept. 1980):128.

[244] Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 349 and 582.

[245] Toner, "The Irish in New Brunswick," 114.

was a general sense that most occupations were "well known in the general community" and census enumerators were given less than a page of instructions from which they were to classify occupation. [246] Related to this is the fact that working men in BC routinely had more than one occupation.[247] Baskerville has noted that recent evidence has shown that multiple occupations in the nineteenth century were much more prevalent than previously thought.[248] In their book *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement,* Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, when discussing the case of Alexander Robb, an Irishman who arrived in BC during the Gold Rush, noted that he would routinely go to work as a miner in the summers and in the fall and winter work at other types of employment such as mining, lumbering and labouring. [249] It is possible then that a man listed as a "labourer" may have been more accurately described as a "farmer" or "miner."

To analyze all of these different factors would be outside the focus of this thesis; however, we can analyze the data to see, if for Irish Catholics, there was a relationship between religion and occupation.

Religion and occupation are, statistically speaking, nominal variables and unlike ordinal variables, they do not have a clear ranking or "gradations of difference."[250] Researchers are restricted, therefore, in the type of quantitative analysis they can apply. However, the statistical models appropriate to nominal variables can tell us if there *is* a relationship between religion and occupation and the *strength* of that relationship.

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[246] Baskerville, "Displaying the Working Class," 230.
[247] This was discussed in chapter two, see pages 35-36.
[248] Baskerville, "Displaying the Working Class," 230-231.
[249] Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 159.
[250] Denise Montcalm and David Royse, *Data Analysis for Social Workers* (Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 24.

The best statistical model for finding association between nominal variables is the chi square test. In essence, the chi square test examines the probability that the null hypothesis is true. In this case, the null hypothesis would be that there is *no* association between the independent variable (religion) and the dependent variable (occupation); any association would be purely by chance. By convention, if the significance value for chi square is larger than 0.05, than this suggests that the null hypothesis is correct. If it is less than 0.05, than we can assume that the opposite is the case: that there *is* a relationship between religion and occupation.[251] However, the chi square test has to be approached with caution as a significance value for chi square below 0.05 is often produced if a large sample is used.[252]

The chi square gives us only evidence of association between religion and occupation. If we want to find out the strength of this association, we need to use other statistical tests. There are a handful of statistical tests that can be used for strength of association. In this case, where the variables are 'symmetrical' (the chi square value is the same regardless of which variable is dependent or independent) there are three statistical tests that can be used: Phi, Cramer's V, and contingency coefficient. Phi only works for 2x2 tables and the contingency coefficient will only be accurate when cross tabulation tables have the same number of rows and columns. In contrast, Cramer's V is recommended for larger tables that do not have the same number of rows and columns. As well, for many researchers, Cramer's V is regarded as the most rigorous test for symmetrical measures as its value (which will always be between 0 and 1) is not affected

[251] Explanation of chi square test from Perry R. Hinton et al, *SPSS Explained* (New York:Routledge, 2004) 275.
[252] Montcalm and Royse, 203.

by the size of the table.[253] As such, Cramer's V is the most appropriate statistic to test for strength of association between religion and occupation.

In order to find out if there is an association between religion and occupation in BC within the 'white' male working population, I created a data set that consisted of Irish, English and Scottish males fifteen and over (these three ethnic groups accounted for approximately eighty percent of all non native 'white' males fifteen and over in BC in the census) that were either Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist or Episcopalian (these five religious affiliations are linked with approximately eighty percent of all non native 'white' males fifteen and over in BC in the census). One problem with the chi square test is that it will yield inaccurate results if more than twenty percent of the cells of the table have a frequency of five or less. This would certainly be the case if I had used the existing occupation categories listed in the tabulated census: there are over 240 categories of occupation and many of these categories are empty.[254] To correct this issue, I recoded the variables by dividing all of the job categories into six general categories: white collar, agricultural, services, trades, mining and labour. I then recoded the five religious affiliations into two variables: Catholic and Protestant. Within the Catholic category, the Irish are by far the dominant group, accounting for ninety percent of this religious category.

The resultant cross-tabulation table produced a total of 5287 valid cases (see table 3.18).

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[253] Montcalm and Royse, 202.

[254] These categories are delineated according to HISCO (Historical International Classification of Occupation) classifications to allow for cross analysis of historical datasets from the 18th, nineteenth and 20th centuries. See Marco H.D. van Leeuwen et al, *HISCO: Historical International Classification of Occupations* (Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2002).

Table 3.18 (English, Scotch and Irish Males 15 and over)

Religion		***White Collar***	***Agriculture***	***Service Based***	***Trades Based***	***Mining***	***General Labour***	***Totals***
Catholics	*Count* *Expected count* *Percentage of jobs*	77 129.2 9.4%	128 199.7 15.7%	58 50.2 7.1%	110 157.2 13.5%	104 111.9 12.7%	340 168.9 41.6%	817 817 100%
Protestants	*Count* *Expected count* *Percentage of jobs*	759 706.8 17%	1164 1092.3 26%	267 274.8 6%	907 859.8 20.3%	620 612.1 13.9%	753 924.1 16.8%	4470 4470 100%
Total	*Count* *Expected count* *Percentage of jobs*	836 836 15.8%	1292 1292 24.4%	325 325 6.1%	1017 1017 19.2%	724 724 13.7%	1093 1093 20.7%	5287 5287 100%

The expected percentage in the general labour category for both Catholics and Protestants is 20.7 percent. As can be seen, in the Catholic category, the actual percentage in general labour is over double that which was expected (41.6 percent). In the Protestant category, while not nearly as substantial a difference as the Catholics, the opposite is the case: there were approximately four percent fewer males in the general labour category than what was expected. The resultant chi square test confirms that there is an association between occupation and religion ($x^2 = 279.172$, df=5, $p = .0001$); however the Cramer's V test suggests this association is at best, moderate (Cramer's V= .230).

In order to find out whether there is an association between occupation and religion within the Irish group itself, I isolated males fifteen and over of Irish ethnicity in the database used above and using the same recoded variables, ran a cross-tabulation table. The resultant table produced a total of 1320 valid cases (see table 3.19).

Table 3.19 (Irish Males 15 and over)

Religion		***White Collar***	***Agriculture***	***Service Based***	***Trades Based***	***Mining***	***General Labour***	***Totals***
Irish Catholics	*Count* *Expected count* *Percentage of jobs*	65 83.6 9.7%	90 151.5 13.5%	47 43.6 7%	77 97.3 11.5%	98 92.2 14.6%	292 200.7 43.6%	669 669 100%
Irish Protestants	*Count* *Expected count* *Percentage of jobs*	100 81.4 15.4%	209 147.5 32.1%	39 42.4 6%	115 94.7 17.7%	84 89.8 12.9%	104 195.3 16%	651 651 100%
Total	*Count* *Expected count* *Percentage of jobs*	165 165 12.5%	299 200 22.7%	86 86 6.5%	192 192 14.5%	182 182 13.8%	396 396 30%	1320 1320 100%

Here we see a similar pattern to table 3.18. The expected percentage of the cross-tabulation table in the general labour category for both religious groups is thirty percent. In the Catholic category, there are 13.6 percent more than predicted whereas in the Protestant category there are fourteen percent less than was predicted. The resultant chi square test confirms that there is an association between occupation and religion ($x^2_=$ 153.163, df= 5, *p*= .0001). The value for the Cramer's V test (Cramer's V= .341) suggests a fairly strong association.[255]

The categorical analysis as well as the chi square results of both cross-tabulation tables suggests strongly that religion could possibly have been a significant factor in occupational choices for the Irish Catholics in BC. However, the values of Cramer's V for both tables that range from moderate to fairly strong tempers this significance somewhat. It suggests that if religion was a factor, it was one of possibly a number of factors that impacted job choices for the Irish Catholics. Put another way, there is not a case to be made that Irish Catholics were limited in job choices *solely* because of the

[255] The guidelines for strength of association were taken from Earl Babbie et al, *Adventures in Social Research: Data Analysis Using SPSS 14.0 and 15.0 for Windows,* 6th ed. (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 2007), 229. It must be noted that guidelines for strength of association can be fairly subjective. For instance, Montcalm and Royse would consider the Cramer's V in table 3.18 as weak to moderate and the Cramer's V in table 3.19 as moderate. See Montcalm and Royse, 203.

church they attended. The comparative concentration of the Irish Catholics in labour employment in late nineteenth century BC needs to be analyzed as well by some of the other factors mentioned above: timing of arrival and subsequent employment available coupled with skill sets and financial resources, rather than just religious affiliation.

As discussed in chapter two, BC in 1881, while clearly showing the signs of emerging industry, was still very much a largely undeveloped wilderness. Hampered by the effects of a decade long recession in part attributed to the long delay of the railway, BC suffered as well from the challenges of its topography combined with a lack of infrastructure that limited the growth of its emerging resource industries. As a result of the economy's focus on resource extraction industries, the bulk of work available would largely have been labour based. Over seventy percent of Irish Catholic males fifteen and over were from Ireland. The majority of them probably emigrated from the western and southern regions of Ireland where it was mostly rural and where most men would have been unskilled or semi-skilled. This does suggest that timing of arrival, the ensuing economic opportunities available combined with limited skill sets would also have been factors that directed Irish Catholics' choices in employment in BC.

Nonetheless, a case can still be made that the Irish Catholics were 'ghettoized' in the workplace. As outlined in chapter two, the workplace was characterized by a split labour market where the core, skilled jobs were filled by an "Anglo-North American" workforce and the more unskilled, casual positions occupied by ethnic groups that were 'Othered' in white society: the First Nations and the Chinese. Further to this, Jamie Morton points out that there were "important points of congruence" among the emerging resource extraction industries. More specifically, the modes of production did not

originate in BC but rather were "imported specifically for the purposes of each industry."[256] Along with these 'imported' systems of production came pre-conceived biased notions about gender, class and race that in turn created the split labour market so characteristic of late nineteenth century BC.[257] While the Irish Catholics were clearly not segregated in the workplace compared to the First Nations and Chinese, the categorical data suggests that preconceived biased notions of Irish Catholics were also imported along with systems of production.

The English subjugation of Ireland started in earnest in the 1600s and the subsequent "conquest, confiscations and persecution had profound and lasting effects upon Ireland's Catholics." [258] For the English, perceptions of the Irish Catholics fluctuated between notions of an inferior barbaric race that "could only be held in check by discipline, firmness and recurrent coercion,"[259] or paternalism where the backwardness of the Irish Catholics could be resolved through education and enlightenment. These English attitudes towards the Irish Catholics were noticeably similar to their perceptions of the indigenous groups found in other overseas colonies and in fact, the Irish were regularly compared to African people. [260]

While the current historiography of the Irish in Canada clearly illustrates that the Irish Catholics were more integrated into mainstream society than previously believed, this does not negate the fact that there *was* ethno-religious conflict between English Protestants and Irish Catholics.

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[256] Morton, 34.
[257] Morton, 35. See my discussion on the lumber industry starting on page 37.
[258] Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 23.
[259] David Fitzpatrick, "Ireland and the Empire," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 517.
[260] Fitzpatrick, "Ireland and Empire," 499.

While certainly ethno-religious violence in Canada paled in comparison to the United States, anti-Catholic riots were relatively common in most parts of Eastern Canada during the late nineteenth century.[261] The Orange Order was initially formed in Northern Ireland to protect Protestantism and the British constitutional monarchy.[262] Canada and Britain were the first countries where Orangeism took root outside of Ireland and in these countries violence played a key part in the movement. Toronto became known as "the Belfast of Canada" due to the frequency of riots that took place there between Irish Catholics and English Protestants in the first few decades after Confederation.[263] The Orange Order eventually spread across Canada as far as the lumber towns of BC, a region where this society would have easily found support.[264]

From the colonial times until the late nineteenth century, BC was very much a region whose institutions, traditions and attitudes continued to be heavily influenced by Britain.[265] During the colonial period, "the most advantageous sort of person to be-before and after the gold rush - was a white middle-class or upper - class British male…."[266] For these people from the British Isles, BC provided an opportunity for social and economic advancement not as readily available to them in their home country.[267] British miners who came from the British Isles in a steady stream to work in the coal mines during the nineteenth century were reassured by the fact that BC's "constitution

[261] Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*,323; Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 93.
[262] Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 180.
[263] Donald M. MacRaild, " Wherever Orange is Worn: Orangeism and Irish Migration in the nineteenth and Early 20th Centuries," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 28 and 29 (Fall 2002 and Spring 2003): 102 and 107.
[264] Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 183.
[265] Sage, 14; Barman, *The West*, 99,130-131.
[266] Meen, 120.
[267] Meen, 122. Morton, 564,565.

was reassuringly British."[268] By 1881, those listed in the census as having 'British' ethnicity constituted sixty-five percent (or 11,382 people) of all 'white' ethnic groups in BC. Of this group, almost forty percent (or 4493 people) were born in the British Isles. As noted, "many of them brought the British Empire ideas of class and hierarchy"[269] that incorporated assumptions of racial superiority.

W. Peter Ward in his paper, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia 1870-1939," argues that within BC's multiracial society, "each racial group was further subdivided by intricate cultural patterns."[270] Within the dominant white group, these internal subdivisions were delineated in part by ethnicity and religion.[271] While there appears to be virtually nothing in the historiography of nineteenth century BC that indicates whether these 'intricate cultural patterns' within the white group impacted the Irish Catholics or not, there are indicators that suggest discrimination towards the Irish Catholics was present.

According to Margaret Ormsby, during the colonial period a significant number of official positions in government were filled by Anglo-Irish; some of these men had connections to gentry and were referred to as the "Dublin Castle" group.[272] Paul Koriscil refers to this same Dublin Castle Group in his book *The British Garden of Eden: Settlement History of the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia* noting that these gentlemen emigrants had the financial means and political connections necessary for initiating

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[268] See page 42; John Douglas Belshaw, "The British Collier in British Columbia: Another Archetype Reconsidered," *Labour/Le Travail* 34 (Fall 1994):15.
[269] Paul M. Koroscil, *The British Garden of Eden: Settlement History of the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia* (Naramata: Milverton Publications, 2008), 5.
[270] W. Peter Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia," *BC Studies* 45 (Spring 1980): 268-269.
[271] Ward,"Class and Race," 269.
[272] Margaret Ormsby, "Some Irish Figures in Colonial days," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* Vol. XIV, no.1 and 2: 61-62

commercial development in the Okanagan Valley.[273] These men were of Anglican background, loyal to the Crown, striving to expand their own interests and that of the British Empire's, and clearly none of them was Catholic. Conversely, in Vincent J. McNally's book, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia,* the author notes that Anglicans made up the ruling class and Catholics, "particularly from Ireland, made up the core of the working class."[274] Further, John Douglas Belshaw, in his paper "The British Collier in British Columbia: Another Archetype Reconsidered," noted that for the British colliers that migrated to the coal mines in BC during the nineteenth century, "racial (or at least ethnic) division would have been nothing new…."[275] More specifically, the attitudes of the British miners towards the Irish Catholic immigrants in the coal mines of the United Kingdom were virtually identical to their perception of the Chinese in BC:

> Like the Chinese, the Irish were sometimes obtained to act as strikebreakers and as a means of spurring on the local workforce. Living in ghettoes that cropped up in many British colliery towns, Irish miners and their families were viewed as completely alien by their mainland co-workers and neighbors.[276]

Certainly these miners would have arrived in BC with their perceptions of the Irish Catholics intact.

We need then to consider a few points: the long history and the nature of the conflict between Ireland and England, the well documented incidents of violence between English Protestants and Irish Catholics in Eastern Canada, the dominance of British

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[273] Koroscil, 5 and 15.
[274] Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2000), 220.
[275] Belshaw, "The British Collier," 29.
[276] Belshaw, "The British Collier," 29.

institutions and traditions in BC, the notions of racial superiority that arrived in BC with the British, the fact that the English held the Irish Catholics in the same regard as other people of colour and that skin color was a primary marker of social hierarchy in BC, and the categorical analysis of the census that shows Irish Catholics predominantly overrepresented in labour based occupations compared to other 'white' ethnic groups. Based upon this, I believe that there is enough evidence to suggest that the Irish Catholics, while certainly not segregated in the workplace like the First Nations and Chinese, were still ghettoized in the workplace during this period. Religion would not have been the sole factor limiting employment opportunities; however, I believe that in the Irish Catholics' case, it was a significant factor. It is my contention that more historical research on the Irish Catholics in BC during this formative period prior to the arrival of the railway - using other quantitative and qualitative sources- is needed in order to corroborate, or refute, my interpretation of this quantitative analysis of the Irish in BC.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS TO THE HISTORIOGRAPHY

BC was still a relatively undeveloped region by 1881. The first major influx of non-native settlement only came to BC in 1858 and twenty-three years later there was still little in the way of infrastructure; in effect, BC was basically a small non-native settlement superimposed on a much larger First Nations region. Most of this non-native settlement was concentrated in the southwest corner of the province and characterized by primarily itinerant adult males rather than families. As well, the economy was anchored by resource extraction industries as opposed to agriculture and BC's geographic position on the other side of the Rockies guaranteed its isolation from the rest of Canada; its

commercial ties were primarily with California and Britain.[277] Fundamentally, it was this geographic isolation that limited the amount of immigration from Eastern Canada to BC and "explained the peculiar influence of British policy and British migration on the West Coast."[278] Within this 'distinct society,' the Irish Catholics were noticeably overrepresented in the lower end of the employment scale compared to Protestant groups.

In comparison, BC was in many respects a very different place to, for example, the Leeds and Lansdowne region in Ontario.[279] Leeds and Lansdowne was primarily an agricultural region that, starting in the 1790s, experienced steady population growth; by the 1840s, most of the good agricultural land had been settled.[280] By the 1870s, Leeds and Lansdowne was dominated by both industry and commercial farming operations and was well connected to other regions through the Great lakes system, the Rideau Canal and the railway.[281] Within these different environs, the economic behavior of the Irish of Leeds and Lansdowne differed from that of the Irish in BC: both Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics were primarily involved in agriculture, and the Irish Catholics were *more* successful farmers than the Irish Protestants![282]

If we compare the Irish in BC to those in Quebec City, we see yet again a different profile. By 1871, most of the population in Quebec City was Catholic. Further, unlike other Canadian cities of the period, the Irish Catholics in Quebec City were well

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[277] See Morton, 329.
[278] Belshaw, "The West We Have Lost," 28.
[279] This was the area analyzed by Donald Akenson in his book *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History.* See chapter one of this thesis.
[280] Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario,52, 162.*
[281] Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario, 162,237, 253.*
[282] Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario,* 247-248.

represented in the types of occupations normally reserved for Protestants. For example, approximately two thirds of the police force consisted of Irish Catholics! [283]

As Akenson points out, no community is typical.[284] Immigrants and the regions in which they settle are intertwined in a reciprocal evolutionary process where one affects the other; as Darroch and Ornstein state: "ethnic identities and communities are generated…in the interaction between prior cultural standards and immediate conditions."[285]

Much of the historiography of the Irish Diaspora illustrates that the economic disparities between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants were more attributable to such things as timing of arrival and availability of land, work skills and financial resources or, in the case of Baskerville and Darroch and Ornstein, age, rather than religious affiliation. As Baskerville contends, ethno-religious factors "may not have been the only or even the most important reason" for upward mobility.[286] However, conversely, David A Wilson argues that while the "hammer of statistics" clearly shows that Irish Catholics were more integrated into Canadian society in the nineteenth century than previously thought, statistical analysis "can easily blur the local and social variations within the Irish Catholic population and underplay the degree of discrimination that Irish Catholics faced." [287]

While BC was clearly 'a distinct society', it is interesting to note that there are similarities between BC and Hamilton, a city where Michael Katz also found a relationship between Irish Catholics and occupation. Katz's analysis of Hamilton in the

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[283] Grace, 249-250.
[284] Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario,* 333.
[285] Darroch and Ornstein, 330.
[286] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 81.
[287] David A. Wilson, "Thomas Darcy McGee's Wexford Speech of 1865: Reflections on Revolutionary Republicanism and the Irish in North America." *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 26 and 27, no.1 and 2 (Fall 2000 and Spring 2001): 22.

mid nineteenth century illustrates a city with a rigid class structure coupled with a transient workforce.[288] For example, Katz found a rigid entrepreneurial class in Hamilton. This group consisted of men that had risen through the ranks through personal ambition and achievement, were leaders in their respective trades or professions, wealthy, propertied, well-connected, involved in the economic development of the city, and were almost exclusively Protestants.[289] This last point is important as Katz contends that "the fundamental division within Hamilton was ethnic as well as economic; the city was divided not between native and immigrant but between Irish Catholics and all the rest."[290]

Katz also found a transient population. When linking the 1851 Canadian census with the 1852 Hamilton assessment roll, Katz found that of the 2522 people on the assessment roll, only 1955 of them were listed in the census taken only three months earlier, strongly suggesting that these people had moved on. As Katz states, "the statistics… offer convincing evidence that transiency was a way of life shared by the mass of the population."[291]

If we compare this to BC, we find a similar situation. The capitalist market system transplanted to BC was much the same as in other colonized regions of the world; however, the variant that emerged in BC was unique, or as Jamie Morton puts it, "a distinct iteration of the liberal order."[292] BC was a region that presented an opportunity to many to achieve status and wealth regardless of social position. As mentioned earlier, for many immigrants arriving from the United Kingdom, BC provided a chance for upward

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[288] Katz, 17.
[289] Katz, 184. Katz was able, through the analysis and linkage of records from city government, banks, insurance, philanthropic organizations etc., to isolate 161 men that made up the entrepreneurial class in Hamilton; out of the 161 men, 155 were Protestant.
[290] Katz, 208.
[291] Katz, 102.
[292] Morton, 588.

mobility not available to them at home. And the most successful of these immigrants in BC "formed the nouveau elite…dominating the economy and the government, while their example supported the hopes of the aspirant population."[293] However, it was still a liberal order "that depended heavily on British values."[294]While the caste system of Britain could be circumvented, the class system remained and in BC, race intersected with class more thoroughly than elsewhere in Canada. As we have seen, the clearest manifestation of this in the economy was the split labour market. [295] The economy was also characterized by another feature, an itinerant workforce.

As a result of BC's geographic isolation as well as the type of employment found in resource extraction industries, the province attracted a transient workforce. The experiences of Alexander Robb, mentioned earlier, and others epitomize a workforce of mostly single, itinerant adult men drawn to BC by the promise of decent wages, hoping to move up the economic ladder.[296] Many came specifically to enter certain industries (such was the case for British miners on Vancouver Island); others simply came hoping to pursue their fortunes with whatever was available. As already noted, many held multiple occupations, moving from job to job depending on the season as well as economic climate.[297] Many, like Alexander Robb, became disillusioned and eventually moved on.

Clearly there were marked contrasts between Hamilton and BC and the studies in question are separated by different time periods. However, the combination of a

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[293] Morton, 568, McDonald "Lumber Society," 86.
[294] Morton, 565.
[295] Morton, 566.
[296] John Douglas Belshaw," The Standard of Living of British Miners on Vancouver Island, 1848-1900," *BC Studies* 84 (Winter 1989-1990): 63. For one man's contemporary account about working in BC in the 1880s see Morley Roberts, *The Western Avernus: Three Years Autobiography in Western America* (London: S.C. Brown and Langham and Company Ltd, 1904), specifically chapters ten to sixteen.
[297] McDonald, "Lumber Society," 75. Many sawmill workers would only remain at the job for a few weeks before moving on.

'nouveau elite' that was almost exclusively Protestant contrasted against a transient population base in both Hamilton and BC suggest a commonality of factors that played a part in the discrimination against Irish Catholics in the workplace. I would argue that, in BC's case, the cohesiveness and stability of the hegemonic group gave it unrivalled power within society. The values that were naturalized within this group and projected out were left relatively unchallenged by a group of essentially rootless, itinerant males that were in a constant process of 'moving on.' For Irish Catholics in BC, this meant they were confronted with a level of alienation in the workplace, limiting their access to employment opportunities afforded others who "conformed most closely to the values of the liberal order."[298]

[298] Morton, 563.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

In the nineteenth century, the character of English Canada was in large part shaped by the influx of immigrants from the British Isles; within this migratory stream, the Irish were the largest group. The arrival of the Irish started early in the century and the bulk of them arrived *before* 1847, the year of the influx of refugees from the Great Famine. By the end of the century, the Irish represented the largest immigrant group in Canada. [299]

Yet despite these facts, for years the Irish were almost exclusively associated with the Famine, this episode being regarded as "a universal tragic beginning for the group."[300] As a result, the perception of the Irish Diaspora in Canada was one of a dismal homogeneous mass, mostly Catholic, mostly urban and largely unskilled. This image of the Irish in Canada was not only mythologized in folklore, but also canonized in the scholarly literature. Historians like H.C. Pentland and Kenneth Duncan depicted the Irish in unsophisticated terms, putting particular emphasis on the backward nature of the Irish Catholics and their penchant for urban living, violence and drinking. [301] While Irish Catholics remained where they began, Irish Protestants were "aggressive and ambitious"[302] and ultimately were able to work their way out of lower end labour employment and become successful farmers.[303] Much of the perceptions of the Irish were based on the American conceptual model of nineteenth century Irish immigration and

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[299] Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement,* 4 and 335.
[300] Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 4.
[301] Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario,* xv, Houston and Smyth *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement,* 5.
[302] Pentland, 459.
[303] Pentland, 459.

"insinuated as primary myths into the backdrop of Canadian historiography."[304] But starting in the 1970s, new more rigorous research that incorporated previously untapped sources discovered the story of the Irish Diaspora in nineteenth century Canada to be quite different than that of the United States; fundamental to this new interpretation of the Irish Diaspora was the emergence of quantitative history as a methodological tool.

In the 1960s, the development of social history and its shift away from the individual to the masses and history "from the bottom up" coincided with advances in computer technology that allowed historians to analyze records that had previously been largely inaccessible. The ability to analyze records like censuses, military and tax lists, company records etc. allowed the historian a number of advantages. One was the ability to study demographic groups that left little in the way of written records, another was the capability to identify social processes that either validated or discarded prior theories or for that matter uncovered patterns that inspired new research. [305] A third advantage was the fact that these records were, relatively speaking, impartial. These records were collected for primarily administrative purposes and as such were not imbued to the same extent with the prejudices that existed in other contemporary records, something of critical importance for the Irish in Canada.[306] Now historians of the Irish Diaspora had a powerful tool at their disposal; it was if the voices of the masses of Irish in Canada in the nineteenth century were finally being heard. And with this methodology, the historiography of the Irish Diaspora in nineteenth century was transformed.

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[304] Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement,* 5.
[305] Robert Harrison, "The 'new social history' in America" in *Making History: An Introduction to the History and Practices of a Discipline*, eds. Peter Lambert and Phillips Schofield (New York: Routledge, 2004), 114; Tosh, 257.
[306] The concept of impartiality is borrowed from archival theory. Terry Eastwood, "What is Archival Theory and Why is it Important?" in *Archivaria* 37 (Spring 1994): 127.

Fundamental to the new historiography on the Irish Diaspora in Canada in the nineteenth century was the rejection of the Irish as a dichotomous group whose relative fortunes were dependent upon religion. Looking at the Irish Diaspora from a national perspective, Darroch and Ornstein's statistical analysis, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective" found that there was *no evidence* to show that "Irish Catholics were predominantly urban, proletarianized, and a largely impoverished population."[307] In fact, Irish Catholics were well established in farming, trades and white collar occupations.[308] Fundamentally, there was too much variation between ethnic groups as well as too much variation within the Irish ethnic group to suggest that for the Irish Catholics there was a clear pattern of 'proletarianization.'[309] Peter Baskerville, in "Did Religion Matter? Religion and Wealth in Urban Canada at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: An Exploratory Study," found fundamentally the same situation with the Irish as Darroch and Ornstein: the difference between Irish Catholic patterns of wealth and status and that of other Protestant denominations were negligible. When analyzing ethno-religion and occupation within the Irish Catholic ethno-religious group Baskerville found that "the popular stereotype of the Irish Catholic as rooted in urban ghettoes, toiling at or near the bottom rungs of the occupational ranks, is hardly supported by the data."[310]

However while there was no distinct pattern at the national level, all three authors found clear variations in the Irish Diaspora regionally, something that local studies confirmed. For example, Darroch and Ornstein noted that in Ontario, the Irish Catholics

[307] Darroch and Ornstein, 314.
[308] Darroch and Ornstein, 314.
[309] Darroch and Ornstein, 316.
[310] Baskerville, "Did Religion Matter," 71.

were largely a rural population, whereas in Quebec, they were mostly urban, a fact confirmed by Robert Grace in his regional study of Quebec City.[311] Michael Katz discovered the Irish Catholics in Hamilton, Ontario to be mired in the lower echelon of occupations with little in the way of upward mobility. His research also suggested that this occupational profile was strongly linked to ethno-religion. Conversely, Donald Akenson, in his book *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History,* found that for the Irish Catholics in the Kingston area- just a few hundred miles east of Hamilton- religion appeared not to be a detriment as Irish Catholics were actually the more successful than their Protestant counterparts.[312]

Not surprisingly, differences of opinion developed between quantitative historians researching the Irish Diaspora. For example, P.M. Toner took issue with Darroch and Ornstein's methodology used in their analysis arguing that using only the heads of households from the census rather than all males in the household gave a skewed version of the facts. He argued that a sampling of all Irish males from the household would have yielded similar results to his interpretation: Irish Protestants were more present in agriculture and Irish Catholics were more present in semiskilled and unskilled professions.[313] As well, there were differences over what actually constitutes the Diaspora. Houston and Smyth noted that without including the native born successive generations of Irish immigrants in Canada, the Irish group in the 1871 census would only constitute 11% of the population of Ontario and appear only in urban concentrations. However, if successive generations were included, the percentage jumps to 34% and reflects the fact that many Irish had settled and their subsequent generations had

[311] Darroch and Ornstein, 325; Grace, 245.
[312] Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, xvi, 248.
[313] Toner,"Occupation and Ethnicity," 156-159.

proliferated in agricultural areas. As Houston and Smyth state: "place of birth data serves only to mask the region's Irishness by leaving out the new generations of Canadian born sons and daughters."[314] Toner likewise holds that the Diaspora should consist of both Irish born and native born but for different reasons. He argues that an immigrant group passes on cultural values and attitudes that may be appropriated by their successive generations; it is in this way that the immigrant generation evolves into an ethnic group.[315] For Toner, "no historical study of any immigrant group is really complete unless its progeny are also studied."[316] Conversely, Grace sees a clear distinction between someone who is an Irish born immigrant and someone of Irish ethnicity who "had never even seen Ireland."[317] He notes that in Katz's study of Hamilton, only twenty-one percent of Catholic males of Irish ethnicity were labourers as compared to fifty-nine percent of Irish born Catholics.[318] For Grace, combining both Irish born and native born as a whole for analysis obscures the actual experiences of Irish immigrant learning to adjust to their new homeland.

With the emergence of quantitative history as a methodology, the image of the Irish in the nineteenth century was irrevocably changed. The image of the Irish as either Irish Catholics who were landless, urban, unskilled and alcoholic or Irish Protestants who were ambitious and worked their way up the economic ladder was displaced by the image of an ethnic group that was diverse and complex. The Irish Diaspora was as successful as any other immigrant group in establishing itself in Canada in the nineteenth century and

[314] Smyth and Houston, "Better Questions," 4.
[315] Toner "Occupation and Ethnicity," 117.
[316] Toner "Occupation and Ethnicity," 117.
[317] Grace, 248.
[318] Grace, 247.

one that was firmly rooted and integrated into Canadian society by the dawn of the twentieth century.

While a substantial amount of work has been done on the Irish in Eastern Canada, west of Ontario, the Diaspora has largely been ignored in the historiography.[319] The opportunity to analyze the Irish in BC through the 1881 Canadian census was an exciting prospect for me for a number of reasons. Firstly, while the 1881 Canadian census is limited by its under-enumeration of women and visible minorities and by the parameters given census enumerators for recording occupations, it is a fully tabulated census allowing one the ability to breakdown the population into datasets of specific groups as well as isolating particular towns, cities or regions.[320]

Secondly, the 1881 census intersected BC at an interesting time in its history. By 1881, BC had been part of Canada for ten years, yet it was as culturally and economically distant from the rest of Canada as it was geographically. While the Gold Rush was long gone, BC's economy still remained anchored to resource extraction industries.[321] In 1881, BC was still for all intents and purposes a First Nations region; however, a small but a growing non-native populace remained, many of them residual from the Gold Rush, forming a 'distinct' settler society, its population characterized by the predominance of adult males.[322] Most of non-native settlement was concentrated around the Strait of Georgia with Victoria as its cultural and administrative center. Elsewhere, small and relatively isolated communities existed, all of them focused around resource industries. Non-native settlement consisted of a complex mix of ethnic groups including a

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[319] See footnote 86 on page 22.
[320] See my discussion in chapter three on pages 47-49.
[321] In fact, agriculture did not become an export industry until the early 20th century. See Ormsby, "Agricultural Development," 14.
[322] See my overview on pages 25-26.

substantial Chinese population; nonetheless, the dominant ethnic groups were from the British Isles, a demographic reflecting BC's colonial past and continued connections with Britain.[323] Further, while a minority in the region, 'white' population was squarely in administrative and economic control of BC. Imbedded within this hegemonic regime were accepted notions on liberalism and its emphasis on property as a prerequisite of upward mobility. As well, preconceived ideas on the supremacy of the 'white race' were naturalized in society and formalized in policy that manifested itself in pejorative policies and a split labour market that segregated First Nations and other visible minorities like the Chinese in the work place. It was a region that, as Adele Perry put it, "hovered dangerously at the precipice of Victorian social norms and ideals."[324]

By the 1881, BC was a province in transition. Resource industries like coal and lumber were emerging to fill the void left by the end of the Gold Rush, yet development was being hindered by the lack of external markets, something that the long delayed railway was expected to rectify. BC, in many ways, resembled the colony that it had been but was tentatively emerging as the province it would become. Considering the necessity of analyzing the Irish from a regional perspective, being able to study the Irish Diaspora in this 'distinct' society at the edge of the Pacific offered a unique opportunity.

In terms of actual numbers, the number of people of Irish ethnicity in BC in 1881 was relatively insignificant (3067); however, this needs to be put in perspective. There were approximately 50,000 people in BC in the census and, of this 50,000 there were 22,203 people of non-native ethnicity, of whom the Irish constituted 13.8 percent, or the fourth largest ethnic group. Or, to break it down even further, of this 22,203, there were

[323] Robert A.J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class Status and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1996), 3.
[324] Perry, *On The Edge of Empire*, 3.

17,493 that were of 'white' non-native ethnicity. Within this group, the Irish represented 17.5 percent of the total or the third largest ethnic group next to the English and Scotch.[325] So in terms of the non-native population in BC in 1881, the Irish were significant.

In many ways, the Irish mirrored that of other non-native groups in BC during this period. For example, the Irish were mostly cloistered around the Strait of Georgia on Vancouver Island and along the coast of the Mainland, they were primarily made up of single adult males and in terms of employment, farming was primarily the domain of married men whereas more single adult males were involved in resource extraction industries like mining and labour work.[326] However, regardless of these similarities, there were differences in occupational patterns when it came to the Irish Catholics.

Where the Irish Protestants' pattern of employment was essentially the same as that of the other two main ethnic groups in BC in 1881 (the English and Scots), the Irish Catholics were noticeably overrepresented in the lower end of the employment spectrum; whereas roughly fifteen percent of Irish, Scotch and English Protestants were involved in labour work, almost forty percent of Irish Catholics were listed as labourers. The connection between Irish Catholics and occupation is lent credence by the fact that the percentage of other Catholics in labour categories (20.3 percent), while slightly higher than the Protestants, is still noticeably less than Irish Catholics.[327] As well, the chi square and Cramer's V statistical tests indicate a fairly strong statistical association between religion and occupation for Irish Catholics. Certainly, the Irish Catholics were not segregated in the workplace like the First Nations and Chinese; however, analysis of the

[325] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.
[326] *Census of Canada 1880-81*. For an overview of non-native population demography see Galois, 142.
[327] *Census of Canada 1880-81*.

census strongly suggests that, like the Irish in Katz's study of Hamilton, there was a "peculiar combination of being Irish and Catholic."[328]

However, if we are to accept this interpretation of the quantitative analysis of the Irish Catholics in BC, then we have to recognize that there were other factors that could have been at play as well. First, we have to consider that timing of arrival and economic opportunity available along with limited skill sets. As noted on page fifty-seven, by 1881, Andrew Onderdonk and his crews had been hard at work for months blasting tunnels in the Fraser Canyon, and a significant number of single Irish born adult males were listed in the census as situated in Yale and Hope, strongly suggesting they were working on the blasting crews.[329] Secondly, the level of detail of the enumerators when recording a person's occupation was lacking. As noted on page seventy-one, men in BC during his period rarely held one type of occupation. More typically, as the example of Alexander Robb illustrates, men would work in accordance with the seasons and what work was available. If enumerators had been more rigorous, and an Irish Catholic could have as easily been listed as a farmer rather than labourer, it is entirely possible this would have changed the outcome of the analysis.

Nonetheless, as I have argued in the latter part of chapter three, there is enough evidence to suggest that the Irish Catholics were ghettoized in the workforce. If we consider, for example, the long history of conflict between the Irish Catholics and English, the ongoing friction between the two groups that existed in Canada in the late nineteenth century (and the fact that the Orange society was established in BC by 1881), the dominance of British institutions and culture in BC, and the fact that race was a

[328] Katz, 66. See my discussion on Katz on pages 9-10.
[329] SPSS. In fact, 30% or (446 out of 1465) of all Irish males 15 and over in the census were situated in the district of Yale (of this amount, 62.5% were Irish Catholics).

prevailing factor in social class within BC, then I believe that while religion may not have been the only factor, there is enough cumulative evidence to suggest that it played a primary role when it came to Irish Catholics and occupation in BC.[330]

Realistically, quantitative analysis can contribute at best only a piece of the puzzle when it comes to historical inquiry. While quantitative history can access and analyze large amounts of information, ultimately its reach is limited. However, one can argue that there is no one methodology or approach that can single-handedly uncover the past in all its complexity. What quantitative history can do is confirm or draw into question prevailing theories and, perhaps more importantly, identify new social patterns opening the door for further investigation or, as John Tosh puts it, "clarify a number of relevant issues without closing the question."[331]

Ideally, quantitative analysis needs to be supplemented by other sources, both qualitative and quantitative, for a more comprehensive picture. For the Irish in BC in 1881, this means delving into church records, wills, tax lists, company records, newspaper accounts, diaries, etc. to see if in fact what the quantitative analysis suggests can be corroborated by these sources. Further, the topography of BC and its lack of infrastructure created distinctive settlements and, as John Douglas Belshaw points out, "their histories have been marked by distinctive economic experiences that brought with them relatively unique demographic patterns despite their propinquity."[332] As such, studies that analyze and differentiate the experiences of the Irish Catholics in Victoria from perhaps New Westminister or Yale would be required to fully grasp the social processes at work for the Irish Catholics in BC.

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[330] See my discussion on pages 75-78.
[331] Tosh, 280.
[332] Belshaw, "The West We Have Lost," 40.

Nonetheless, regardless of its limitations, quantitative analysis has certainly been an effective tool for historians of the Irish Diaspora. Ultimately, this analysis of the Irish in BC through the 1881 Canadian Census reinforces the importance of not only quantitative history as a methodology, but also the need for a regional perspective when analyzing the Irish in Canada during the nineteenth century to fully comprehend the Diaspora in all its complexity and diversity. As Gordon Darroch so eloquently states:

> Plural experiences may be better grasped if ethnicity is understood as an "emergent" and highly contingent historical construction, in which identities and communities are fabricated from the threads of a shared heritage, but in widely varying conditions that mould their local institutional forms and meanings.[333]

[333] Gordon Darroch, "Half Empty or Half Full? Images and Interpretations in the Historical Analysis of the Catholic Irish in the Nineteenth Century," in *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 25, no.1 (1993): 5.

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Appendix

Table 1.1: Irish Born Women- Religion

Religion	Total	Percent
The Western Roman Tradition		
Roman Catholic	99	43.8%
The Anglican Tradition		
Anglican Church	54	23.9%
Episcopal	13	5.8%
Reformed Episcopal	4	1.8%
The Reformed-Presbyterian Family		
Presbyterian	33	14.6%
Reformed Presbyterian	5	2.2%
Church of Scotland	2	.9%
The Pietist-Methodist Family		
Con Meth	1	.4%
Wesleyan Methodist	10	4.4%
The Baptist Family		
Baptist	2	.9%
Spiritualist and Other Christians		
Spiritualist	1	.4%
Protestant	2	.9%

Table 1.2: Native Born Irish Women- Religion

Religion	Total	Percent
The Western Roman Tradition		
Roman Catholic	151	24.8%
Anglican Church	135	22.1%
Episcopal	28	4.6%
Reformed Episcopal	15	2.5%
The Lutheran Family		
Lutheran	3	.5%
The Reformed-Presbyterian Family		
Presbyterian	88	14.4%
Reformed Presbyterian	16	2.6%
Free Kirk	6	1.0%
Church of Scotland	7	1.1%
The Liberal Family		
Unitarian	3	.5%
Universalist	2	.3%
Deist	3	.5%
The Pietist-Methodist Family		
Methodist	20	3.3%
Con Meth	4	.7%
Wesleyan Methodist	73	12.0%
Episcopal Methodist	1	.2%
Moravian	1	.2%
The Baptist Family		
Baptist	18	3.0%
Christian Baptist	1	.2%
The European Free Church Family		
Quakers	1	.2%
The Adventist Family		
Seventh Day Adventists	1	.2%
Spiritualist and Other Christians		
Spiritualist	3	.5%
Christian	1	.2%
Protestant	4	.7%
Other		
Free Thinker	7	1.1%
No Religion	3	.5%
Blank	15	2.5%

Table 1.3: Irish Born Males- Religion

Religion	Total	Percent
The Western Roman Tradition		
Roman Catholic	518	55.2%
Anglican Church	151	16.1%
Episcopal	23	2.5%
Reformed Episcopal	11	2.5%
The Lutheran Family		
Lutheran	1	.1%
The Reformed-Presbyterian Family		
Presbyterian	112	11.9%
Reformed Presbyterian	22	2.3%
Church of Scotland	5	.5%
The Liberal Family		
Unitarian	6	.6%
Universalist	1	.1%
Deist	1	.1%
The Pietist-Methodist Family		
Methodist	5	.5%
Con Meth	1	.1%
Wesleyan Methodist	26	2.8%
The Baptist Family		
Baptist	3	.3%
Christian Baptist	1	.2%
The Independent Fundamentalist Family		
Plymouth Brethren	1	.1%
The Adventist Family		
Seventh Day Adventists	1	.1%
Latter Day Saints		
Mormon	1	.1%
Spiritualist and Other Christians		
Christian	1	.1%
Protestant	12	1.3%
Other		
Free Thinker	4	.4%
Atheist	2	.2%
No Religion	5	.5%
Blank	25	2.7%

Table 1.4: Native Born Irish Males- Religion

Religion	Total	Percent
The Western Roman Tradition		
Roman Catholic	221	24.6%
Anglican Church	222	24.7%
Episcopal	21	2.3%
Reformed Episcopal	17	1.9%
The Reformed-Presbyterian Family		
Presbyterian	148	16.5%
Reformed Presbyterian	27	3.0%
Church of Scotland	8	.9%
Free Kirk	4	.4%
The Liberal Family		
Universalist	2	.2%
Deist	1	.1%
The Pietist-Methodist Family		
Methodist	40	4.5%
Con Meth	8	.9%
Wesleyan Methodist	107	11.9%
Episcopalian Methodist	4	.4%
The Baptist Family		
Baptist	6	.7%
Disciple of Christ	1	.1%
The Holiness Family		
Bible Christian	1	.1%
The European Free Church Family		
Quakers	2	.2%
The Adventist Family		
Seventh Day Adventists	7	.8%
Spiritualist and Other Christians		
Christian	1	.1%
Protestant	4	.4%
Other		
Free Thinker	7	.8%
Infidel	1	.1%
Atheist	1	.1%
No Religion	8	.9%
Blank	28	3.1%